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# ***JPRS Report***

## **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

3 SEPTEMBER 1987

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## SOVIET UNION POLITICAL AFFAIRS

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# UZBEK PARTY ORGANIZATIONS MUST IMPROVE COMMUNIST EDUCATION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 3 April 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,000-word lead editorial entitled "The Moral Character of the Communist" which states that recently oblast, city, and rayon party committees have been discussing the problem of communist education and stresses that the decisive role in forming the moral character of a communist is played by the communist education within the primary party organization of which he is a member. Many primary party organizations work to increase the activism and vanguard role of communists, which makes it possible for them to express their opinions about work. However, a number of organizations do not pay attention to working with each communist or show concern for their conduct within the labor collective. The editorial emphasizes that communist education is a necessary element in the fight against vestiges of the past and the influence of bourgeois ideology. Communists play a major role in the fight against such ills as robbery, bribery, theft of socialist property, false reporting, nationalism, alcoholism, drug addiction, and disrespect for people. It states that recently the Narpay Raykom Buro investigated the case of communist N. Mahkamov of Pobeda Kolkhoz and expelled him from the CPSU for growing poppies (koknar) on his private plot for personal gain. Also, the buro discussed the case of A. Daminov, director of the Moskva Kolkhoz and candidate member of the CPSU, for theft of collective property. It sharply criticized the primary party organizations of both farms for not taking timely and effective steps with respect to these people who stained the name of communist. The editorial states that party committees and their commissions have the duty to ensure that all communists perform their duties with strict observance of discipline, take immediate measures against any sort of incorrect conduct, and increase the responsibility of and exactingness toward communists. Primary party organizations should study the best experience in the field of communist education and make effective use of it in the moral education of young communists.

# UZBEK PARTY PLENUM STRESSES RESTRUCTURING, CADRE POLICY

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 5 April 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,500-word lead editorial entitled "Cadre Policy in the Restructuring Period" which states that the 5th plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee on 28 March 1987 was devoted to the problem of accelerating the restructuring of the republic party organization and developing work with cadres. Speakers pointed out that widespread violations of Leninist norms of party life and principles of social justice were permitted in the recent



past. Stagnation and collapse of plans occurred in all socioeconomic fields. The preparation of a young generation for the worker class was too gradual and problems in putting the surplus labor force to work were ignored. Conservatism and localism prevailed in leadership methods. Discipline and exactingness toward cadres were slack. Ills like nepotism, compatriotism, deception, false reporting, theft of socialist property, and bribery were widespread. Plenum participants analyzed the nature and causes of these negative phenomena and indicated ways to correct them. Although a series of measures were implemented following the 16th plenum of the republic party organization which had a beneficial effect on the economy, changes have not been made quickly enough. The development of work with cadres must be joined to the restructuring process. In order to fully exploit existing potential and intensify social production, leaders and specialists must take a new approach, raise the skills of all cadres, draw into production all labor resources, and increase the role of scientific methods in economic management.

Plenum speakers also stressed the necessity of paying serious attention to the education of workers, especially youth, in a spirit of patriotism and internationalism, and of improving the preparation of youths for serving in the Soviet Army. The ideological sector must be strengthened with cadres who have the skills and ability to follow the party's path. The mass media must disseminate progressive experience, firmly establish the practice of openness, cover reality, and expose the causes of negative phenomena. Because cadres organize the implementation of party policies, developing work with cadres must be the core of restructuring. The leadership must be replenished with new forces and all sectors strengthened with politically and morally mature, effective, and knowledgeable workers. In selecting cadres, several nominees must be considered and discussed, and elections held by secret ballot. The editorial stresses that all nationalities must be represented in party and state organs, and that farmers, workers, non-party members, and women must be elevated to leadership positions.

#### GUIDELINES FOR UZBEK ELECTIONS DISCUSSED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 29 April 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,100-word lead editorial entitled "Electing Leadership Cadres" which states that an integral part of democracy is the election of leaders, brigadiers, and foremen of enterprises, shops, sections, farms, and crews. The legal basis for such elections will be strengthened by a USSR law on state enterprises which is currently open to public discussion. The first steps of open selection and election of leaders have been taken in party organizations and labor collectives. In recent meetings of labor collectives over 9,000 leaders of various ranks, including 70 directors of industrial enterprises, 18 directors of sovkhozes, 49 chairmen of kolkhozes, and 8,000 brigadiers have been elected. The 5th plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee stressed the necessity for party committees to develop the procedures of elections, take the lead in this process, and stay informed of the situation in collectives. It is especially important for them not to permit formalism or the curtailment of democracy in this process. In some places, nepotism and compatriotism are still very strong and must be taken into consideration in order to correctly select cadres. They must not permit the elevation to a leadership post of someone who is "their man" under the guise

of false democracy. The more candidates for an election, the greater the chance of electing the best leader. Every member of a collective has the right to voice his opinion and vote, but those who are lazy and self-seeking, who produce worthless goods, or who break their word should not speak. Only those who advance the restructuring program, take initiative, are qualified for the profession, and are patriotic should be heard.

The editorial points out that the 5th plenum demanded that non-party members be selected for elevation to leadership positions. Until recently, the requirement that only party members could be leaders fostered nepotism and compatriotism and brought a number of unacceptable people into the party's ranks. The plenum condemned the low number of women in the apparatus of party committees and farm leadership; for example, in Namangan and Bukhara Oblasts there is not a single woman among first and second secretaries. The attention of party organizations has been directed toward improving work with women cadres. The editorial stresses that manifestations of localism or tendencies toward national pride cannot be permitted in work with cadres, and that the main direction of work is toward democratization and internationalization of the entire cadre policy.

#### UZBEK OBKOM PLENUMS FOCUS ON RESTRUCTURING, CADRE POLICY

##### Karakalpak Obkom

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 7 April 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,500-word article by own special correspondents R. Yeshimbetov and A. Rahimberdiyev entitled "Profound Analysis, High Demandingness" in which they report on a plenum held by the Karakalpak Obkom to discuss problems in accelerating the restructuring of cadre policy. Obkom first secretary K.S. Salimov and other speakers were critical of the slowness with which party organizations have carried out the tasks of the restructuring program. Last year, stagnation and collapse in industry and agriculture held back development. Moreover, a substantial percentage of the cotton yield and meat and dairy production were falsely reported. Farm leaders shrink from taking responsibility and scientific specialists do not take part in solving agricultural problems. Collector and drainage systems are in deplorable condition, the land is becoming increasingly salinated, and no steps are being taken to save the Aral Sea from drying up.

It was noted at the plenum that in the last three years close to 80 percent of the leadership cadres in the obkom's nomenclature have been removed from their positions for deceiving the state, filing false reports, and abusing their positions. The obkom is taking steps to eliminate ills like selecting cadres on the basis of nepotism and personal loyalty. It has begun to include in its nomenclature non-party members and women. Unfortunately, too little has been done in the restructuring of cadre policy. Too many non-specialists are working in leadership positions; for example, of 35 kolkhoz chairmen only 24 are agricultural specialists. Some party organizations adopt a liberal attitude toward party members who violate CPSU rules. Last year, party committees abrogated 135 decisions of primary party organizations regarding communists who had disgraced themselves and firmly punished them. However, even various party committees continue to work in the old way instead of taking practical steps to resolve problems.



Plenum speakers noted that the process of restructuring ideological and political work is slow and plagued by paperwork, formalism, and empty verbiage. In particular, lecture propaganda is poor and riddled with false reporting and deception. Due to the inattention of party, komsomol, and public organizations, there have been attempts to give Soviet traditions a religious hue. Especially alarming is the religious influence on youth. Ideologically mature and competent leaders of party organizations must work to free youths from the ills of religion and national pride. Scientific and educational establishments must improve the training of specialists for the economy, the ideological tempering and patriotic and internationalist education of youths, and the teaching of Russian. I.B. Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, spoke at the plenum, and V.N. Larentyev, executive of the CPSU Central Committee, attended.

#### Dzhizak Obkom

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 8 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,400-word article by own special correspondents A. Abdubannopov and A. Sattorov entitled "Practical Work Must Be Done" in which they report on a plenum held by the Dzhizak Obkom at which first secretary I.S. Umarov and others spoke on problems in accelerating restructuring and developing cadre policy. Last year, there was some forward movement in the economy due to the renewal of the ranks of cadres. However, oblast construction and agricultural sectors continue to fall short of planned goals, primarily because various leaders have not freed themselves of old working habits, such as exerting leadership from the office. It was noted at the plenum that in previous years corrupt workers in internal affairs departments violated peoples' rights. In the last two years, 115 people have been ousted from this system, including some who committed crimes themselves. For example, Q. Qarshiboyev, former chief of the Dzhizak City Internal Affairs Department, and his deputy for political and educational affairs Meyliboyev were arrested and charged with crimes.

Participants in the plenum noted that the oblast media are not sufficiently active in the restructuring process, the political and physical preparation of youth for military service is deficient, most of the 130 Russian language teachers are from local nationalities and do not have a fluent command of Russian, and the ideological and atheistic education of women in rural areas is neglected. Moreover, there is not a single woman among leaders of industrial, construction, and farm organizations in the oblast. R.N. Nishonov, chairman of the presidium of the Uzbek SSR Supreme Soviet, spoke at the plenum, and M.L. Ishkov, executive of the CPSU Central Committee, attended.

#### Tashkent Obkom

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 8 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,400-word article by own special correspondents R. Tursunov and A. Mannopov entitled "The Task of One and All" in which they report on a plenum held by the Tashkent Obkom to discuss tasks in deepening the restructuring process and improving work with cadres. Obkom first secretary T.A. Alimov and other speakers criticized party cadres and economic leaders who do not understand the necessity of restructuring and continue to work in the old way. Speakers noted that few scientists are conducting basic, practical research, and most scientific research institutes have failed to

make significant contributions to socioeconomic progress. Capital construction is impeded by poor planning, industrial production by poor labor organization and low quality, and housing and other consumer services by sluggishness. Participants in the plenum dealt with the need to give independence to raykoms in selecting party cadres and to create a healthy moral atmosphere in labor collectives. I.Ye. Ponomarov, deputy section chief of the Department of Organizational and Party Affairs of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the plenum, and G.Kh. Qodirov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, attended.

#### Navoi Obkom

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 9 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,200-word article by own correspondent A. Qorjovov entitled "Action and Effort are Needed" in which he reports on a plenum held by the Navoi Obkom at which first secretary A.S. Yefimov and others spoke on the restructuring process. It was noted that several former oblast leaders, including obkom first secretary Yesin, oblispolkom chairman Asatov, raykom first secretaries Orinov, Hikmatov, and Rahmonov, and others, were brought to party and criminal accountability for violating principles of party life and social justice and breaking Soviet laws. Plenum participants viewed a film about the negative legacy of these former leaders and the difficulties facing the acceleration of the restructuring process. In the year since the oblast party conference, management of the economy has not been reorganized in the new way, so that plans were not carried out in oblast industry and other sectors.

Participants stressed the need to develop democracy and collegiality in all areas. Many leaders in the oblast still use the administrative-bureaucratic method of leadership. However, in meetings of labor collectives over 400 leaders of industrial enterprises, shops, shifts, brigades, and farms have been elected. While the participation of the people in self-management is good, the plenum also heard about alarming cases of confusion and exploitation of the people in the election process. For example, in Nurata cases were noted of candidates for a position going from home to home and canvassing votes. In other places, candidates were told that they would receive votes in return for favors. To avoid such cases, it is necessary to increase political education work and instill a sense of responsibility among the masses. Some participants spoke of continued shortcomings in the work of party organizations and their leaders, many of whom manage from the office, issue a steady stream of paperwork, and lack a businesslike approach to work. V. A. Antonov, secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, spoke at the plenum, and K.S. Denyakin, executive of the CPSU Central Committee, attended.

#### Bukhara Obkom

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 9 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,200-word article by own correspondent N. Naimov entitled "Radical Turnaround is the Demand of the Age" in which he reports on a plenum held by the Bukhara Obkom to discuss problems in the restructuring process. Obkom first secretary I. Jabborov and 34 other communists spoke openly about serious deficiencies in various labor collectives and ills that are slowing their work. At a session on the eve of the plenum, buro members discussed the problem of restructuring leadership over socioeconomic

construction and concluded that obkom secretaries and buro members, as well as party committee first secretaries, were slow to feel the spirit of the age and thus unable to implement such leadership.

Plenum participants dealt specifically with the problem of atheistic education. Unity of word and deed is lacking in this important area of ideological work, and decisions are not carried out. Raykoms and primary party organizations are neglecting practical work to the point that various parasitical individuals can take advantage of the situation to pursue their goals of self-interest. H. Alimova, chairwoman of the republic Council of Uzbekistan Trade Unions, spoke at the plenum, and K.I. Maslov, executive of the CPSU Central Committee, attended.

#### Samarkand Obkom

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 10 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,400-word article by own correspondent J. Mamatov entitled "Work Must Be Done in the New Way" in which he reports on a plenum held by the Samarkand Obkom to discuss problems connected with the restructuring process. Obkom first secretary R.S. Ashuraliyev and other speakers pointed out that in the period since the 4th plenum of the obkom in 1984, a number of communists have been made accountable for their lack of responsibility and principles. Despite this, progress in the socioeconomic field has been slow due to the disarray and shortcomings permitted in the selection and placement of cadres. Due to their failure to carry out plans many of those appointed leaders were replaced after six months or a year. In addition, numerous leadership cadres do not possess a deep knowledge of the economic structure. The shortcomings of oblast leaders of the agroindustrial complex have been discussed at quite a number of meetings without producing any positive results.

Speakers pointed out that rural raykoms are not organizing the restructuring of their work satisfactorily, and a number of leaders are bogged down in outdated work methods. In some places, elections are being conducted in an unprincipled fashion on a basis of favoritism instead of choosing the most qualified and experienced people. Such violations of democracy are occurring in Bulungur, Urgut, Narpay, and Pakhtachi Rayons, due to the failure of these party organizations to eliminate shortcomings. Participants also dealt with deficiencies in the ideological sector and the problem of putting the surplus labor force to work. V.A. Khaydurov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR People's Control Committee, spoke at the plenum, and V.N. Nakonechniy, executive of the CPSU Central Committee, attended.

#### Tashkent Gorkom

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 14 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,300-word article by own special correspondents R. Tursunov and A. Mannopov entitled "Both Demandingness and Assistance Are Needed" in which they report on a plenum held by the Tashkent Gorkom at which gorkom first secretary B.F. Satin and others spoke about the tasks facing the party organization in the restructuring of its work. Lower party links have failed to carry out restructuring which has had a negative effect on plan fulfillment, particularly in the construction sector, but also in industrial and service sectors. Over the last two years the gorkom replaced 426 people in its nomenclature, but party



committees have not been sufficiently concerned with whether these new cadres in fact introduced new methods and restructured work within labor collectives. As a result, formalism and paperwork continue to impede the implementation of new plans. Participants pointed out a number of serious shortcomings in the work of scientific-research institutes and of city party committees and organizations. T.A. Alimov, first secretary of the Tashkent Obkom, spoke at the plenum, and I.B. Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, and N.S. Igrunov and I.Ye. Ponomarev, executives of the CPSU Central Committee, attended.

#### Surkhandarya Obkom

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 15 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word article by own correspondent A. Khalilov entitled "Demandingness and Boldness are Needed" in which he reports on a plenum held by the Surkhandarya Obkom at which first secretary S. Mamarasulov and others spoke on tasks facing party organizations in correcting persistent errors and accelerating the restructuring process. Serious alarm was expressed that party, soviet, and economic leaders are still not free from outdated work methods. As a result, production output and quality have declined and there are mounting problems in the reclamation of the Sherabad-Surkhan Steppes and the attraction of surplus workers from local nationalities into social production. A large portion of the oblast population able to work is not participating in production and the skill level of specialists remains low.

Speakers noted that a number of corrupt individuals have used their positions to gain personal wealth, engaged in moral dissolution, bribe-taking, favoritism, nepotism, and large-scale theft of socialist property. The causes of such actions have not been eliminated. Therefore, party organizations have the urgent task of improving their work, restructuring their work with cadres, and rebuilding their leadership over the economy. The most alarming thing is that party organizations have taken a formal approach to the task of ensuring that work with cadres is open and democratic. This approach promotes the election of non-specialists and unqualified people to leadership positions, favoritism and nepotism. Another problem is the unnecessarily frequent replacement of leaders. For example, in the last three years, 67 percent of kolkhoz chairmen and 80 percent of sovkhos directors have been replaced without any positive benefits. Speakers also commented on serious shortcomings in ideological work, particularly in the field of atheistic education. V.P. Anishchev, second secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

#### Khorezm Obkom

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 15 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word article by own correspondent F. Zohidov entitled "On the Turnaround Path" in which he reports on a plenum held by the Khorezm Obkom at which first secretary M.M. Mirqosimov and others spoke on the failure of the oblast economy to make sufficient progress due to slowness in the restructuring process. The obkom has implemented Leninist principles in the selection and placement of cadres and increased attention to ensuring the continuity and renewal of leadership ranks. It has removed

numerous leaders who could not carry out their duties and replaced them with mature cadres able to take initiative and a realistic approach to restructuring. Nonetheless, the work of party, soviet, and economic organs continues to be plagued by formalism, paperwork, and superficiality.

Participants stressed that cadres must be educated in a spirit of openness, honesty, responsibility, and demandingness, and that abuse of position, false reporting, and deception of the state cannot be tolerated among them. Some leaders have been unable to learn how to work in democratic conditions because they are accustomed to working with such outdated methods as issuing excessive orders. Speakers expressed conviction that the upcoming elections for deputies to local soviets will have great significance for deepening socialist democracy. V.N. Lobko, secretary of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, spoke at the plenum, and M.L. Ishkov, executive of the CPSU Central Committee, attended.

#### Namangan Obkom

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 16 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,400-word article by own correspondent Sh. Kholmirezayev entitled "Restructuring and Acceleration--The Task of All" in which he reports on a plenum held by the Namangan Obkom to discuss problems in accelerating the restructuring process. Obkom first secretary N.R. Rajabov and other speakers severely criticized party organizations that have not begun to seriously restructure their work. Due to this a number of oblast industrial enterprises and farms have failed to meet their plans. Instead of taking the initiative to solve these problems, primary party organizations wait for directions from above. Leaders of various raykoms have fallen into the habit of issuing excessive orders and inappropriate notifications which dampen the enthusiasm of cadres and stifle their initiative.

Plenum participants condemned the practice of evaluating cadres with outdated criteria, and stressed that they should be evaluated on the basis of how they carry out plans and influence the situation in collectives. Some party committees do not take the latter approach, as is shown by their attitude toward elections. Greater openness and democracy are needed in this area where negative incidents still occur. For example, in the election for director of school 28 in Chust Rayon, raykom secretary S. Shokhobiddinova falsified the results of a secret ballot so that a candidate who received only 8 of the 41 votes cast remained the school director. The error was corrected and the guilty parties were punished by the party. Still, this incident disgraced the party committee and damaged the people's trust in its honesty and justice. Participants also criticized shortcomings in the ideological field, especially in atheistic education work. P.V. Dogonkin, chief of the Department of Organizational and Party Affairs of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

#### Kashkadarya Obkom

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 18 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,400-word article by own correspondent M. Karomov entitled "Boldness and Principles are Needed" in which he reports on a plenum held by the Kashkadarya Obkom to discuss tasks facing party organizations in accelerating the restructuring process. Obkom first

secretary I.A. Karimov and others pointed out that this process is extremely difficult to carry out because the ills of the past like false reporting, deception, bribe-taking, and theft were so prevalent in the oblast that they produced a feeling of distrust in people. In addition, the negative effects of narrow bureaucratic interests and localism are still being felt. It is impossible to carry out restructuring in lower party links without the help and supervision of higher party organs. Failure to offer these has been one of the major causes for the continued shortcomings.

Plenum speakers emphasized that a number of party organizations and their leaders are permitting formalism in mass political work and socialist competition, as well as serious shortcomings in atheistic education, the system of political and economic studies, and agitation and propaganda. In Ulyanov Rayon and Shakhrisabz City the military-patriotic education of youth and the teaching of Russian are neglected. The Nishan, Usman Yusupov, and Shakhrisabz Raykoms, and Karshi Gorkom are permitting errors in ensuring that work with cadres is open and democratic. For example, the Shakhrisabz Raykom advanced the candidacy of Temirov, who wrecked work when he was secretary of the Pravda Kolkhoz party committee, for election to the directorship of the local school. However, the collective rejected him for another candidate. Nonetheless, the raykom's lack of principle left a bad impression on people. I.Kh. Jorabekov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR State Agroindustrial Committee and first deputy chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the plenum, and G.V. Koshel, executive of the CPSU Central Committee, attended.

#### Syrdarya Obkom

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 21 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1,500-word article by own correspondents H. Khalilov and A. Umarov entitled "In a Spirit of Criticism and Self-Criticism" in which they report on a plenum held by the Syrdarya Obkom at which first secretary A.F. Klepikov and others spoke about the tasks of party organizations in accelerating the restructuring of their work. One of the most important demands of restructuring is the partial selection and election of cadres. In the past two months over 2,000 brigadiers and foremen have been elected by oblast labor collectives. Nonetheless, greater critical awareness and openness are needed to strengthen democracy and avoid errors in this work. For example, R.G. Panyukhov, chief of the Kirov Canal Administration, and people who worked under him, took advantage of the long neglect of the obkom, oblispolkom, and economic organs to commit violations of the law. In the last three years they diverted R175,000 to workers and employees by claiming it was in payment for overtime work. In another case, S. Umarov, chief of the oblast administration for communications production, persecuted L.V. Bakumchenko because he criticized the chief for arranging payment of salaries to four of his brothers. The Gulistan Gorkom punished Umarov who, instead of drawing the proper conclusions, conspired with M. Gumirov, former secretary of the party organization, to exact vengeance on his critic by seeing to it that Bakumchenko could not pass from candidate to full membership in the CPSU. The gorkom abrogated this decision by the primary party organization and punished the guilty parties.

Participants pointed out that formalism reigns in ideological and political work. Although 95 nationalities are represented in the oblast, party, soviet,



and komsomol organizations are not conducting internationalist education in a systematic way, and the oblast media are not covering problems in this area. Primary party organizations are not doing sufficient work in atheistic education, nor assessing religious manifestations in a principled fashion. For example, last year A. Shukurov, former secretary of the party committee of "Uzbekistan SSR 50 Yilligi" Sovkhoz in Voroshilov Rayon, celebrated his birthday by holding a "sunnat" ceremony. One of his guests died by accident at the ceremony. A. Samoylichenko, second secretary of the Voroshilov Raykom, avoided taking action and did not tell buro members what he knew about Shukurov. This meant the buro members could not correctly assess this incident and voted not to expel Shukurov from membership in the raykom. Sh.Z. Kamolkhojayev, chief of the Agitprop Department of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

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CSO: 1836/420

#### TURKMEN PLENUM STRESSES NATIONALITIES QUESTION

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 3 April 1987 carries on page 1 a 2000-word lead editorial headlined "Restructuring and Cadres" summing up conclusions reached at the Seventh Plenum of the Turkmen Communist Party at which some emphasis was placed on the nationalities question: "Under the conditions of a multinational state, primarily of our republic, the fact that the nationalities question demands special attention was stressed at the plenum. In the work of selecting, placing and training cadres questions of nationality policy must occupy a special place. One must not permit even the slightest manifestation of national limitations, localism, or conceit. A knowledge of Russian plays an important role as a factor in internationality relations. The legitimacy of the need for our cadres to know Turkmen was also touched upon by plenum participants."

#### TURKMEN RAYKOMS URGED TO ENCOURAGE INITIATIVE

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 28 April 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "The Raykom Under Conditions of Restructuring." It points out that "various situations are emerging in the course of revolutionary changes. Party raykoms must evaluate these in a principled and timely manner. Some people trying to introduce innovations courageously and with independent initiative in this direction are encountering great opposition. Primary party organizations must support this kind of person." The editorial adds that "some party raykoms are not concentrating on this matter in depth and not listening to the accountings of primary organizations on this issue." The Gokdepe, Tashauz, Krasnovodsk, and Yoloten Raykoms are singled out for criticism in this regard.

#### TURKMEN LOCAL SOVIETS SLOW IN REFORMING WORK

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 4 April 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial on preparations for elections to the soviets of peoples deputies headlined "Let's Hold the Elections Appropriately." The editorial points out that "there are now 407 rural, village, city, rayon, and oblast soviets with more than 23,500 deputies."

It is added, however, that "a group of local soviets are not operating according to demands in raising the level of organizational measures and in developing democratic principles in their own work. As examples, one would point to Tashauz and Ashkhabad Oblasts, Cheleken and Gyzylarbat cities, and the Garryala, Vekilbazar, Dostluk, and Tagta Rayon Soviets."

#### SCHOOLS OF SOCIALIST MANAGEMENT OPEN IN KALININ RAYON

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 9 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1400-word article by Kh. Nurov, consultant at the political education house of the Turkmen Communist Party Tashauz Obkom, headlined "Schools for the Management of Socialist Economy" on the introduction of management courses at a number of kolkhozes and sovkhoses in Kalinin Rayon. The courses are patterned after experimental schools in the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Perm Oblast. Course work is divided into three parts: political studies based on a curriculum called "Current Questions on the Domestic and Foreign Policy of the USSR;" economic studies based on "The Intensification of Production on Kolkhozes and Sovkhoses;" and professional studies depending on the students' specialization--these could include "Fundamentals of Cultivating the Soil and Farming," "Fundamentals of Animal Husbandry," and "New Agricultural Technology, Using It Effectively and Industrial Technology in Growing Crops." Each of the three parts of the course contains 22 hours of instruction.

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CSO: 1835/420

**TUSSR: REFORM OF PARTY STUDIES PROPOSED**

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 6 May 1987 carries on page 2 an 800-word article by N. Charyyev, instructor in the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Danev Raykom, headlined "Significant Advances in Ideological Work" which discusses proposed changes in party political and economic education. He points out that "shortcomings continue in conducting these studies. Certain party organizations are not giving them enough attention. Instances when students display no activism and do not fully participate occur often. There are also places which put off asking pointed questions about this. Primary party organizations must be more demanding in this matter. Thus, I propose that it is the direct obligation of primary party organizations consistently to search for new forms and methods in order to assure study effectiveness. This would increase the responsibility of primary party organizations."

**POLITICAL STUDIES IMPEDED BY LACK OF TURKMEN LANGUAGE MATERIALS**

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 13 May 1987 carries on page 2 a 1200-word article by N. Khangeldiyev, consultant at the political education house of the Chardzhou Obkom, on the restructuring of the party's political and economic education studies; the article is headlined "Directed at Working Creatively." He notes that Chardzhou Oblast has taken the first steps in restructuring courses in political and economic education: "For example, we have turned away from offering many courses in the study program and have retained only two." These are "Accelerating the Socioeconomic Growth of Our country Is the Basic Strategic Line of the CPSU" and "The Intensification of Production." He adds that "there is a lack of study materials, especially in Turkmen, for propagandists and students. Also, there have been difficulties in creating the conditions for students, meaning that the place where studies are conducted is not adequate to the demands of the day."

**TURKMEN BRIDE PRICE TAKER EXPELLED FROM PARTY**

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 17 May 1987 carries on page 3 an 800-word article by Janmammad Khanmammedov headlined "Another Victim of Bride Price." He relates the story of a young bride and party member who demanded a bride price and received 9,400 rubles. This was discovered by the authorities. As a result, "the court transferred the 9,400 rubles received by S. Babayeva and sentenced her to 2 years compulsory labor. For actions unworthy of the name communist, she was also expelled from the ranks of the party." It is added that "according to the law, the giver of bride price is as guilty as the taker."

#### UZBEK ZNANIYE ORGANIZATION URGED TO RESTRUCTURE WORK

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 21 April 1987 carries on page 1 a 1,100-word lead editorial entitled "Lecture Propaganda Must Be Effective" which states that conservatism, stagnation, and giving lectures on themes that are not current have impeded the work of republic Znaniye organizations. In a decision concerning the serious shortcomings in the work of the Znaniye administration and the unhealthy atmosphere among its members the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro criticized the serious problems that prevail in this area of ideological work. Nonetheless, changes have not been made in accordance with this decision. Leaders of Znaniye organizations in Kashkadarya, Navoi, Fergana, and Samarkand Oblasts do not provide adequate assistance to lecturers, fail to draw up effective plans, and continue to rely on outdated work styles. In many cases, lecturers are selected on the basis of nepotism and the certification process is conducted superficially. The 5th plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee demanded that this situation be corrected and that all workers on the ideological front link their ideological and educational work to the restructuring process. The editorial calls on lecturers to explain to the masses the Soviet policy of peace and nuclear disarmament and instill in them the will to struggle for security, democracy, and socialism. Moreover, it continues, "Znaniye Society members are urged to instill in the Soviet people an intolerance for bourgeois ideology. They must never forget that the primary task of the lecturer is to assist the party in exposing hostile propaganda and completely eradicating from the minds and behavior of the people religious vestiges and ills like nationalism, parasitism, theft of the people's property, bribe-taking, and drunkenness, which are alien to our way of life."

#### AFGHAN CONSUL IN TASHKENT COMMENTS ON APRIL REVOLUTION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 26 April 1987 carries on page 4 an 800-word article by Humayun Asqaryar, Acting Chief Consul for the DRA in Tashkent, entitled "National Construction is the Path of Peace" in which he comments on the policy of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan in conjunction with the 9th anniversary of the April Revolution. According to him, the revolution ended all forms of national and social oppression and overturned the feudal-bureaucratic regime that had kept the people in chains and hunger for centuries. The formation of the DRA dealt a severe blow to the region's imperialistic forces and permitted the development of the forces of peace, social progress, and



national independence. Despite hardships, the PDPA has achieved many successes. Presently, there are 119,000 students attending 1,244 schools. Over 13,000 students study in Kabul and 1,800 in foreign countries, most of them in the USSR. Soviet aid is also important in the construction of several industrial projects. However, the undeclared war against Afghanistan continues. Enemies of the revolution impede the realization of the PDPA's great plans. As a result of this war, 183 schools, 131 hospitals, 314 mosques and holy sites, numerous communications units, hundreds of bridges, and hundreds of kilometers of roads have been destroyed, amounting to losses of 50 billion afghanis.

Asqaryar states that the PDPA continues to lead the struggle for peace and national construction, but stresses that revolutionary ideas can be realized only in peaceful conditions. The program for national construction includes the following measures: cessation of hostilities; the return of refugees to Afghanistan; the stage by stage withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops; the drafting and confirmation of a Constitution; the creation of conditions for economic development and the improvement of welfare for the people. The Afghan people understand that national construction is the only path possible, and that the continuation of the fratricidal war and destruction can only benefit enemies of the revolution.

#### UZBEKS MARK ANNIVERSARY OF APRIL REVOLUTION

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 28 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,300-word article by Sh. Niyozov, chairman of the Uzbekistan chapter of the Soviet-Afghan Friendship Society, entitled "The Thorny Path of Freedom" in which he comments on national construction in conjunction with the 9th anniversary of the April Revolution in Afghanistan. He states that from the first day of the April Revolution the country has encountered numerous problems and hardships. External and internal conflicts were compounded by religious, nationalist, and tribal problems, and international imperialism, led by the United States, has spared nothing in inciting the counterrevolutionaries. Nonetheless, positive changes are taking place in the country. Elections for local government organs have been successful in all provinces, and for the first time representatives of the people are taking part in state management. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is gaining prestige and now has 165,000 members.

Niyozov points out that Afghanistan relies on the help of socialist countries, particularly the USSR. More than 200 economic projects are being built with Soviet aid, and a number of undertakings are benefitting from the assistance of Soviet specialists. Moreover, each year nearly 1,500 Afghan youths return after completing higher schools in the Soviet Union. Niyozov notes that the PDPA has initiated a policy of national construction to solve numerous socioeconomic problems and eliminate the hardships arising from the undeclared war. The effectiveness of this policy is demonstrated by the return of tens of thousands of counterrevolutionaries to the country, and their recognition of the people's government. Uzbekistan has also made a contribution to Soviet-Afghan friendship, and Uzbek specialists are taking part in planning and building a number of projects and in developing agriculture and animal husbandry.



**TURKMEN RAYON NEWSPAPERS NEGLECT RESTRUCTURING**

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 5 May 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "The Press and the Journalist" discussing the role of the press during restructuring. It points out that "in the pages of some of the rayon press materials are being printed which are passive, lack boldness, and are veiled in generalities. In some of them, not enough space is given to materials which contain bold criticism and convey the effectiveness of structuring. Editors of some rayon newspapers continue to live and work in isolation from the party's raykoms. In some rayons the party committees are giving no thought to acquainting the rayon newspaper editors with important measures they have taken or informing them about situations which have occurred. This is a direct result of disregarding openness or not deeming it of sufficient importance."

**TURKMEN NEWSPAPER URGED TO BE MORE CRITICAL**

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 5 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 900-word article by O. Saparov, editor of the Gokdepe Rayon newspaper LENINIZM YOLU, on the achievements and shortcomings of his newspaper; the headline is "Taking Direction From the Truth." Among the shortcomings, he notes that "in these days of structuring, critical reports and articles are rarely presented on the newspaper's pages. No deep analyses of continuing shortcomings in the progress of economic and social development at kolkhozes and sovkhoses, administrations and factories, construction and transport organizations are being given." He adds that "we must also note that atheistic propaganda conducted against harmful remnants of the past is not being explained adequately in the newspaper."

**PRE-ELECTION PROPAGANDA IN TURKMENIA FAULTED**

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 19 May 1987 carries on page 2 a 2000-word article by R. Garayev, director of the Propaganda and Agitation Department of the Turkmen CPCC, headlined "The Ideological Guarantee of the Election Campaign" on the need to conduct adequate pre-election campaign work. He points out that "most agitation points in Chardzhou and Tasauz Oblasts, Ashkhabad and Krasnovodsk cities,

and Bakherden, Gokdepe, Gavers, Murgab, and Turkmengala Rayons have done no work whatsoever; they expect some signal from above. They are not giving enough attention in their work plans to interpreting actual problems in the work of party and government at the present state of change in the life of Soviet society." Adding that individual work with voters is being neglected, he claims that "party raykoms and gorkoms have been unable to direct the work of agitators to the basic areas where they should be concentrating their efforts during the present election campaign."

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CSO: 1835/424

PAPER REBUKED FOR OBJECTIONABLE DEPICTION OF ARMENIAN INSIGNIA

[Editorial Report] Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian on 20 June 1987 carries on page 2 an unsigned 300-word report titled "In the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee." The report notes that the Central Committee examined questions surrounding the publication in the 11 and 12 June 1987 issues of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY of "an illustration containing a grossly distorted depiction of the Coat of Arms of the Armenian SSR" [reproduced below]. The Armenian emblem was pictured as part of a two-part article on the economic and scientific achievements of Armenia. The investigation by the Azerbaijan CP Central Committee concluded that the offending image was published as a result of "an irresponsible and negligent attitude toward the performance of their duties" on the part of a number of BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY employees. The Azerbaijan CP Central Committee Buro issued reprimands to BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY editor G.G. Glushkov, responsible secretary A.V. Anisimov, party affairs section head N.N. Kuptsova, and letters section head I.Yu. Orudzeva.



[Armenian characters in medallion read: Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. Armenian characters between scrolls at bottom of medallion read: Proletarians of All Countries, Unite!]

CSO: 1830/617

TROTSKIY, BUKHARIN ROLES IN BREST PEACE TREATY OUTLINED

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 28 Jun 87 p 4

[Article by N. Yerofeyev under the rubric "Correspondence on Historical Topics": "Lessons of One Week-- Documentary of How the Brest Peace Was Achieved"; first two paragraphs are source introduction]

As the volume of mail to the editors demonstrates, the rubric "Correspondence on Historical Topics" has elicited great interest among our readers. "I have been reading it with consuming interest," writes reader S. N. Barsukov from Kazan. "Lively, authentic and human, history appears before one--the disputes, the struggle, the treachery, the clash of positions. That is how the story of the past must be told. Please continue to publish these articles..."

Today we narrate the events of one week in 1918--from the 18th through the 24th of February. Summarizing its results, V. I. Lenin has written: "Throughout these days history took strides forward, several of them straight upwards." What happened during this week?

On the Eve

The events with which we are concerned began to develop considerably earlier. On 27 December 1917 the German delegation to the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk refused the Soviet terms for a democratic peace and brushed aside the demand to clear the territories of Poland, the Baltic, and parts of Belorussia occupied by German troops. An ultimatum announcing the resumption of hostilities was awaited from one day to the next. The young Soviet Russia was confronted by a choice: whether to conclude a rapacious, humiliating, and "indecent" [pokhabnyy] peace or to prolong the war. A debate began in the leading circles of the party and the government.

From a newspaper account entitled "War or Peace" (SOTSIAL-DEMOKRAT No. 9, 27 January 1918):

"Yesterday a joint meeting of the central committees of the Bolsheviks and Left SR's took place late in the evening on the question of war and peace.

A number of those present proposed the slogan 'No Waging of War--No Endorsing of Peace.' Certain members of the Central Executive Committee, Left SR's and Bolsheviks, endorsing the opposing point of view, insisted on a declaration of sacred revolutionary war... "

The positions of the opposing sides are clearly presented in the minutes of the RSDRP(b) [Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Bolsheviks)] Central Committee of 24 January 1918:

"Present were Lomov (Oppokov), Krestinskiy, Muranov, Uritskiy, Dzerzhinskiy, Sergeyev (Artem), Sverdlov, Trotskiy, Lenin, Stalin, Bukharin, Sokolnikov, Bubnov, Kollontay, Zinovyev, and Stasova.

"The first to take the floor was Comrade Lenin. He began with an exposition of three points of view noted at the previous meeting: (1) a separate peace with annexation; (2) revolutionary war; (3) cessation of hostilities, demobilization of the army, but no signing of a peace treaty."

Before continuing to quote from the minutes, let us identify the adherents of the three points of view mentioned. In defense of the first was V. I. Lenin. In defense of the second was a group made up of so-called Left Communists, headed by N. I. Bukharin. And defending the third was L. D. Trotskiy. What was the nature of their arguments. Let us turn back to the minutes of the meeting.

"Comrade Lenin said: 'Undoubtedly, the peace that we are obliged to protect is obscene, but if hostilities commence, our government will be wiped out, and peace will be concluded with another government. Now we are reliant not only on the proletariat but on the poorest of the peasantry, which will leave us if the war is resumed. Those who uphold the viewpoint for revolutionary war point to the fact that in this way we will find ourselves in a civil war with German imperialism and so stir up revolution in Germany. But Germany, as of now, is only pregnant with revolution, whereas we have delivered a fully healthy child--the Socialist Republic--and we may kill it if commence hostilities.'

"Comrade Bukharin said: 'Let the Germans attack us, let them penetrate another hundred versts; we are interested in what effect this will have on the international movement. By preserving the Socialist Republic, we lose the chances of the international movement. We must drag out negotiations as much as we can without signing the repugnant peace terms, and in this way we will incite the Western European masses.'

"Comrade Trotskiy said: 'It is essential that we disband the army. But disbanding the army does not mean signing the peace treaty.'

"Comrade Oppokov (Lomov) expressed the view that concluding peace meant capitulating to German imperialism. He assumed that it would be necessary to accept the position of Comrade Trotskiy but only by demonstrating a



maximum of activity in preparing for revolutionary war.

"Comrade Stalin was of the opinion that by accepting the slogan of revolutionary war, we were playing into the hands of imperialism. The position of Comrade Trotskiy was not really a position. If the Germans start to attack this will strengthen the counterrevolution among us. He therefore suggested that the proposal of Comrade Lenin should be accepted.

"Comrade Zinovyev raised the question of whether we should not drag out the renewed negotiations for a certain time and meanwhile carry out a universal referendum with respect to war or peace.

"Comrade Dzerzhinskiy declared that the signing of the peace treaty would be tantamount to surrendering our entire program. He considered that Comrade Lenin was doing in a covert manner what Zinovyev and Kamenev did in October. We are the party of the proletariat and it should be evident that the party will not follow us if we sign the peace treaty.

"Comrade Kossior said that the Petersburg organization protested, and would continue to protest, so long as it could, the viewpoint of Comrade Lenin, and that the only position that it considered feasible was that of revolutionary war.

"Comrade Trotskiy proposed raising the question: Should we call for revolutionary war?

"A vote was taken: for, 2; against, 11; abstaining, 1.

"Comrade Lenin proposed that a vote be taken on the proposal that we prolong by every means possible signing a peace agreement.

"A vote was taken: for, 9; against, 7."

And so on 24 January V.I. Lenin still considered it possible to prolong the signing of the peace agreement. He nurtured the hope that the Germans might not present an ultimatum; that, meanwhile, negotiations were dragging on; and that in Germany, possibly, a further manifestation of revolution might occur.

Trotsky was commissioned to conduct the continuation of negotiations in Brest-Litovsk. Before his departure he met with V. I. Lenin. What did they talk about?

"It was agreed between us," said Lenin, "that we would hold out until the ultimatum of the Germans. After the ultimatum, we would yield."

"Yield" meant signing the peace agreement according to the terms imposed by the Germans.



But Trotskiy did not carry out this directive. On 10 February, following his own policy line, he announced a unilateral cessation of hostilities and demobilization of the Russian army, and then left Brest-Litovsk, in effect breaking off negotiations.

The German government found the pretext they were looking for to put an end to the truce, which they promptly took advantage of. On 16 February the German Command officially declared an end to the truce as of 12 o'clock noon on 18 February.

The week which we cover in our story commenced with the German attack.

#### Culmination

18 February (morning)

From the minutes of a meeting of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee, No. 40:

"Comrade Trotskiy reported on various items of news: airplanes over Dvinsk; the expected attack on Revel; the appearance of four German divisions from the Western Front.

"Comrade Lenin proposed raising the question of sending or not sending a telegram with a peace proposal and voting on it--for or against.

"Lenin's proposal was accepted.

"Comrade Trotskiy was against sending a telegram with a peace proposal.

"Comrade Lenin, who was for the peace proposal, said: 'We are now in a situation where it is essential to act. There is not one hour to lose.'

"Comrade Bukharin was against the proposal; Comrade Zinovyev was for it.

"A vote was then taken on the proposal to immediately propose reopening the peace negotiations: for, 6; against, 2.

"The next meeting of the Central Committee was scheduled to begin at 2 o'clock on the following day."

However, it was not possible to wait until the following day. Information arriving in the course of the day confirmed their worst fears. The Germans were advancing virtually without opposition. By 2 p.m. the Germans had occupied Dvinsk. The Central Committee remained in session throughout the day with only short intermissions. And what took place during the intermissions?

From the biographical chronicle of V. I. Lenin:

"Lenin sent a telegram to Revel requesting the latest information from military reconnaissance and regarding measures of strengthening the borders of Estland to resist attack from the west...

"He signed an order giving instructions to take the most energetic measures for the complete evacuation of the Northwest Company's plant from Revel to Novorossiysk...

"He presided at a meeting of the SNK [Sovnarkom], discussing the situation brought about by the ultimatum of the German government and the attack by German troops along the entire front."

Night of 18-19 February

From the minutes of a meeting of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee, No. 41:

"Comrade Trotskiy reported the capture of Dvinsk and rumors of an attack on the Ukraine. If that is confirmed, he said, it will force us to take definite steps--that is, to request Vienna and Berlin for their terms.

"Comrade Sverdlov had doubts about Trotskiy's statement since it was impossible to wait, he said, even until the next day. If the decision was to be made, it must be made immediately.

"Comrade Stalin said: 'The matter is a mere formality. It is necessary to speak straight out. The fact is, the Germans are attacking, we don't have the power to resist, and it is necessary to reopen negotiations.'

"Comrade Lenin said: 'The question is a fundamental one. The Central Committee has voted its opposition to revolutionary war. Yet we have now neither war nor peace and are being drawn into a revolutionary war. We cannot fool around with war. If we sue for peace with the Germans, it will only amount to a piece of paper. It is not a matter of policy. Our sole objective is to propose to the Germans a resumption of negotiations. Right now, on the map, it is an established fact that by fooling around with a war we are relinquishing the revolution to the Germans. History will say that we gave up the revolution. We must propose peace to the Germans.'

"Comrade Bukharin said: 'Events are unfolding as they should. There is no possibility now of postponing the battle. United imperialism is acting in opposition to the revolution. Even if Petersburg is captured, our social resources are still not exhausted. We can rouse the peasants in opposition to the Germans. We have only our ancient tactic--the tactic of world revolution.'

"Comrade Lenin said: 'Bukharin has failed to notice that he has switched to the position of revolutionary war. The peasants don't want war and will not enter it. Revolutionary war must not be merely a phrase. If we are not prepared for war, we must agree to peace. If we give up Finland, Livland, and Estland, the revolution is lost.'

"Comrade Zinovyev said: 'The situation, as I see it, comes to this. If they seize us by the throat, we agree to peace. We must send a telegram to the Germans today. We must know their demands.'

"The debate came to an end.

"Trotsky outlined his proposal—not to press for a ceasefire, but to request their terms.

"The proposal that they should immediately ask the German government to make peace without delay was put to a vote: for, 7 (Lenin, Smigla, Stalin, Sverdlov, Sokolnikov, Trotsky, and Zinovyev); against, 5 (Uritskiy, Ioffe, Lomov (Oppokov), Bukharin, and Krestinskiy (joined by Dzerzhinskiy)); with one abstention (Stasova).

"Comrade Lenin and Trotsky were delegated to draft the text."

19 February, Between 4 a.m. and 5:15 a.m.

Lenin signed the SNK radiogram of ratification. Excerpt from the radiogram:

"To the Government of the German Empire in Berlin:

"The Council of People's Commissars finds itself compelled in the present circumstances to declare its willingness to make peace in accordance with the terms proposed by the delegations at Brest-Litovsk...

"[signed] The Council of People's Commissars: Chairman, Ulyanov—Lenin; People's Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Trotsky."

After 5:15 a.m. he sent a telegram to the chairman of the Driss City Soviet:

"Organize opposition where possible. Remove all provisions and things of value. Destroy everything else. Leave the enemy nothing. Demolish communications lines--2 versts out of every 10. Blow up bridges. [Signed] Lenin"

Thus began the second day of the week. With each passing hour the situation at the front grew worse. The weak units of the Russian army drew back in disarray. In addition to Dvinsk, the Germans occupied Veden, Minsk, and other cities. On this day Lenin called a special conference and presided over a meeting of the SNK, and in the evening he addressed a joint meeting of the Bolshevik factions and the Left SR's in the VTsIK [All-Russian Central Executive Committee], demonstrating, arguing, and responding to questions regarding the necessity of concluding a separate peace with Germany.

There was no answer to the radiogram. German troops were approaching Pskov. The order of the day was now to organize the defenses of the country.

20 February. There was still no reply from the radiogram. The SNK listened to reports from Supreme Commander Krylenko and Admiral Altfater regarding the

situation at the front; and they resolved to issue a special appeal to the population and to prepare a report for the Petrograd Soviet regarding the evacuation from Petrograd, organizing for this purpose a special commission. In Petrograd the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution was formed.

In view of the developing situation the Council of People's Commissars passed a resolution to select a provisional executive committee of the SNK headed by V. I. Lenin. The committee was entrusted with the authority to deal with all matters of urgency.

When a country is going through a particularly crucial period, it is of the utmost importance that the people who have assumed the authority and accepted the full responsibility do not succumb to emotions and do not resort to revolutionary phrase-making. But at such times there are always more than enough heralds of revolutionary slogans. They rush about, they burn with noble impatience, they hurl themselves into any cavalry charge. What happens as a result of the attack, how many casualties and losses will success cost, whether indeed there is victory or defeat is unimportant to them—the main thing is to attack and later analyze the outcome.

On 21 February, in the pages of PRAVDA, Vladimir Ilich commenced his campaign against the "Left Communists" headed by Bukharin. Under the pseudonym Karpov, he published an article entitled "The Revolutionary Phrase."

Lenin was convinced that people "must not become intoxicated with words," that the substance of policy must not be merely "feeling, wishing, hostility, disturbance." To replace objective analysis with "feeling" means falling into a trap—it means coming down with the disorder of Leftism. "But to succumb to this disorder at such a time risks the collapse of the revolution."

His conclusion: "We must struggle against revolutionary phrase-making; we must struggle, we are compelled to struggle, so that the bitter truth is never said of us: 'Revolutionary phrases about the revolutionary war brought to ruin the revolution.'"

21 February (12:20 p.m.)

The following telegram was sent by telephone to the executive commission of the Petrograd Committee and to all regional committees of the Party of the Bolsheviks:

"We urge you without losing an hour to raise all the workers to their feet, to organize tens of thousands of workers and move the entire bourgeoisie to the last man, under the control of the workers, for the digging of trenches near Peter. [Signed] Lenin"

On this same day Lenin wrote the decree entitled "The Socialist Fatherland in Danger." It contained eight points, the first two of which were printed in boldface as follows:



"(1) All powers and resources of the country in their entirety are at the disposal of activities in defense of the revolution.

"(2) All soviets and revolutionary organizations are charged with the duty of defending each position to the last drop of blood.

22 February. A state of war was declared in Petrograd, and both the troops and the Baltic Fleet were placed on a battle alert.

The RSDRP(b) Central Committee at its meeting held its regularly scheduled discussion. V. I. Lenin was not at the meeting, but as we shall see knew how to lend his voice to the discussion. The topic? Under discussion was a proposal of the countries of the Entente (Russia's former allies in the war with Germany) regarding aid to the Soviet Republic in the form of weapons, ammunition, and the like. The exit of the Russians from the war was not at all to the liking of the imperialist powers. How was the proposal received in the RSDRP(b) Central Committee?

From the minutes of the meeting of the RSDRP Central Committee, No. 42, 22 February 1918:

"Comrade Trotskiy reported on the offer of the French and the English to cooperate in the war with the Germans.

"Comrade Bukharin was of the opinion that from the standpoint of the 'allies,' this was no more than a plan to convert Russian into their colony. It demonstrated that support from any imperialist power, no matter who they were, was out of the question.

"Comrade Trotskiy submitted that the arguments of Bukharin would not stand up to criticism. If we are to conduct a revolutionary war, he said, we are obliged to utilize the support of France and England."

The discussion developed around these two points of view. Bukharin's declaration was repudiated by a vote of 6 to 5.

V. I. Lenin expressed his attitude in the following note:

"To the RSDRP(b) CP: Please add my vote to accept provisions and weapons from the pirates of Anglo-French imperialism. [Signed] Lenin"

One other announcement was added to the minutes:

"To the RSDRP(b) CP: Esteemed Comrades, I hereby resign from the membership of the Central Committee and relinquish the title of editor of PRAVDA.  
[Signed] N. Bukharin "

Realism and revolutionary phrases--two tactics and two points of view.

V. I. Lenin aptly termed the position of Bukharin "the itch for the revolutionary phrase." It is noteworthy that Lenin's article "The Itch" (which was simply staggering when he managed to write it down) was published on this very day in the evening edition of PRAVDA. A scathing article in a satiric style, it took a resolute stand against dogmatism, "slavishly pedantic repetition," and theoretical truths taken out of context without regard for the actual state of affairs. How is it possible, revolutionary theoreticians indignantly exclaim, to make a deal with imperialism! Impermissible! Not at all, replied Lenin, it is entirely permissible--depending entirely on the purpose in making a deal. "Any sensible person will say that to make purchases of weapons from a pirate for the purposes of piracy is foul and infamous, but to buy weapons from such a pirate for the purpose of a just struggle with a tyrant is something that is entirely lawful. Only prim young ladies and affected youths, who have read such affectations in books, would see anything 'corrupt' in such behavior..."

One reads these lines and thinks: How often this slavish, "affected," adherence to outworn theoretical formulations has placed obstacles in our historical path, and how persistently we have endeavored to adjust life as it is lived to them rather than to correct the formulations in our living! Let us continue to read Lenin--they are valuable lessons!

23 February. At 10:30 a. m. the ultimatum from the German government was finally received. As one might have expected, the peace terms set forth in it were significantly worse than the previous ones. Livland and Estland were to be taken away; Russia was to demobilize its entire army immediately and withdraw its troops from Finland and the Ukraine, etc. Forty-eight hours were given for acceptance of these conditions, and the treaty was to be signed within three days.

The RSDRP(b) Central Committee immediately called an urgent meeting, which undoubtedly marked the climax of the entire "Story of Brest."

From the minutes of the meeting of the Central Committee, No. 43, 23 February 1918:

"Comrade Sverdlov announced the German conditions..."

"Comrade Lenin considered that the policy of revolutionary phrases was at an end: If this policy is continued at this point, he said, he was leaving both the government and the Central Committee. For revolutionary war, an army was needed, and there was none. That meant, the conditions must be accepted.

"Comrade Trotskiy said: 'We cannot wage war with a split in the party. The arguments of V.I. are far from persuasive; for if there were unanimity, we could take upon ourselves the task of organizing a defense and we could cope with them. But there must be maximum unanimity. If there is not unanimity, I will not assume the responsibility of voting for war.'

"Comrade Zinovyev said: 'We have now reached the point where we must accept the proposal. Each of us is obliged to do everything possible to prevent a split in the party.'

"Comrade Stalin said: 'Maybe we don't have to sign, but we must enter into negotiations. The question is simply this: either the defeat of the revolution and the revolution tied up with it in Europe, or we get breathing space and become stronger.'

"Comrade Dzerzhinskiy said: 'There will be no breathing space. On the contrary, signing the treaty will only strengthen German imperialism. But I agree with Trotskiy that if the party was strong enough to withstand the rift and withdrawal of Lenin, then we might reach a decision. Now, as things stand, no.'

"Comrade Lenin said: 'Certain of you have reproached me over this ultimatum. I propose accepting it only as a last resort. When committee members speak of international civil war, they are making a mockery of it. We are for revolutionary actions, not words. And that must go on. Stalin is incorrect when he says maybe we will not have to sign. If we don't sign the treaty, then we will sign the death warrant of Soviet power in three weeks' time.'

"Comrade Uritskiy said: 'Our surrender to German imperialism will hold in check an incipient revolution in the West.'

"Comrade Sverdlov expressed the view that it was essential to accept the peace terms, citing events of the past few days.

"Comrade Lomov (Oppokov) said: 'If Lenin threatens to leave, that is no reason to panic. We must exercise our powers without him. We must go to the front and do everything that can be done...'

"Comrade Trotskiy said: 'There is much subjectivism in the position of Lenin. I am not at all sure that his position is correct, but I do not want to detract in any way from the unity of the party. On the contrary, I will help insofar as I can, but I cannot remain and continue to bear personal responsibility for foreign affairs.'

"Comrade Sokolnikov said: 'We are accepting these conditions only as a delaying tactic in preparing for revolutionary war. On these terms, I consent to signing the treaty.'

"Comrade Bukharin reviewed in more detail the German proposals.

"Lenin called for a vote on whether to accept the German peace proposals immediately. The result: for, 7 (Lenin, Stalin, Stasova, Zinovyev, Sverdlov, Sokolnikov, and Smilga); against, 4 (Bubnov, Uritskiy, Bukharin, and Lomov); with 4 abstentions (Trotskiy, Krestinskiy, Dzerzhinskiy, Ioffe)."

With the adoption of the resolution, that would seem to be all--the end of the matter. Oppressive and bitter, the decision was nevertheless necessary. However, the "woebegone Leftists," as Lenin would subsequently come to call Bukharin's group, had no intention of laying down arms.

Right after the vote had been taken, Comrade Uritskiy made the following declaration:

"In the name of Central Committee members Bukharin, Lomov, Bubnov, and myself, together with candidate member Yakovlev and Pyatakov and Smirnov, who are present at the meeting, I declare that we, having no wish to bear responsibility for the resolution that has been adopted, which we believe to be profoundly in error and ruinous for the Russian, as well as the international, revolution--we declare--that we shall shall relinquish all official party and government posts, reserving for ourselves complete freedom to campaign actively, both within the party and outside of it, for the policy position which we believe to be the sole correct one. [Signed] 23 February, M. Uritskiy"

In fact, this was a threat of sabotage, but it had to be dealt with. Here are a few more excerpts from the minutes of the meeting:

"Comrade Lomov (Oppokov) inquired whether Vladimir Ilich would permit either silently or openly campaigning in opposition to the signing of the peace treaty.

"Comrade Lenin replied in the affirmative.

"Comrade Sverdlov suggested, with reference to the situation that had developed, that Central Committee members continue their membership and, in general, stay in their places until the congress convened and meanwhile conduct their campaigning within party ranks.

"Comrade Lenin proposed further discussion of the matter suggested by Sverdlov.

"Comrade Stalin asked whether the resignation of party posts did not in fact signify resignation from the party. Do the comrades realize, he asked, that their leaving their posts puts the party in a desperate situation? Were they not required to submit to party decrees?

"Comrade Trotskiy considered the opinion of Stalin mistaken.

"Comrade Stalin asserted that he was blaming no one but wished to point out that there was absolutely no one to replace Lomov, Smirnov, and Pyatakov. Do the comrades acknowledge that their behavior will lead to a split? If they wanted to make themselves clear, but did not want to create a rift, then he asked them to postpone their declaration until the next day or until the congress, which would convene in a few days.



"Comrade Lomov (Oppokov) said that he could not put off the declaration since the response to the Germans could not be put off but must be sent right away.

"Comrade Sverdlov proposed outlining the rest of the work on the day's agenda: (1) A joint meeting of the Left Social-Revolutionaries' Central Committee and our Central Committee; (2) a meeting of the factions; (3) a meeting of the Central Executive Committee together with the Petrograd Soviet.

"The meeting was adjourned until the following day."

On the following day, however, Trotskiy insisted on resigning, declaring his inability to "defend" a position with which he was "not in concurrence." An effort was made to make him see reason.

From the minutes of the meeting of the RSDRP(b) Central Committee, No 44, 24 February:

"Comrade Zinovyev urged him to remain until the signing of the peace treaty or until the crisis was over.

"Comrade Stalin made no proposal, but he spoke of the pain that he was experiencing in dealing with his comrades. The unseemly haste and the pressure applied amazed him, he said, when they knew very well they were irreplaceable. Why, he asked, were they doing this?

"Comrade Lenin proposed that a vote be taken on the following proposition: The Central Committee, finding it impossible to accept the resignation of Comrade Trotskiy at the present time, requested him to postpone his decision.

"The resolution was passed with three abstentions.

"Comrade Trotskiy considered that he had submitted his resignation, that it had not been accepted, and that he was therefore compelled to withdraw from participation in any official capacity."

Whether they wanted to or not, Trotskiy and the "Left Communists" were, in effect, bringing matters to a critical point within the government and the Central Committee.

Much depended on what position the Central Executive Committee would take and whether it would speak out in support of Lenin or stand behind the Left Communists. How could the skeptics be persuaded? What words could be found? A few hours prior to the Central Executive Committee meeting, Vladimir Ilich, after finding a "little window" in the apparent impasse, wrote a note about the "unhappy peace." The lines he wrote are suffused with pain and, in spite of it, optimism. "It is indescribably and unbelievably difficult, while the strong are seated on the chest of the weak, to submit to such an unhappy, imponderably oppressive, and endlessly humiliating peace. But we

must not succumb to despair. The future--notwithstanding these trials--belongs to us."

24 February (from 3:05 a.m. to 5:40 a.m.)

The Central Executive Committee, acting on a resolution proposed by the Bolsheviks, voted by rollcall to sign the peace treaty. The resolution of Lenin was affirmed by 116 votes with 85 votes in opposition and with 26 abstentions.

#### In Place of an Epilogue

Out of the entire history of the struggle over the Brest peace we have taken only the events of a single week. We have done so at the direct "prompting" of V. I. Lenin. This prompting consists in the fact that, on the day after acceptance by the Central Executive Committee of the terms of the peace treaty--that is, on 25 February--an article by Lenin appeared in the evening edition of PRAVDA that was entitled "An Oppressive but Necessary Lesson." The week of 18-24 February proved to be, in the words of Lenin, "bitter, offensive, and oppressive, but a necessary, useful, and beneficial lesson."

It was a lesson of political realism as opposed to revolutionary phrases, a lesson of dialectics versus dogmatism, a lesson of courage in taking responsibility for decisions. In the course of this week V.I. Lenin took part in 22 special conferences, where he spoke no fewer than 30 times; he wrote seven articles and commentaries that appeared in print.

If we are to speak of a particularly eventful finale, then it was to take place in Moscow during the month of March at the 4th Extraordinary All-Russian Congress of Soviets. In favor of ratifying the peace treaty there would be 724 delegates (as opposed to 276), signifying that the position taken by Lenin had triumphed. The breathing-space of peace, so essential to the revolution, had been won.

12889

CSO: 1800/742

IZVESTIYA RECALLS FIRST SOVIET GOVERNMENT

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 July 1987 Morning Edition front-pages a 500-word editorial statement under the heading "That Is How We Began" describing the eponymous rubric which IZVESTIYA has inaugurated in anticipation of the forthcoming 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. Each item published under the rubric will "essentially discuss the cornerstones and fundamental ideas and principles which the great Lenin and his closest associates sought to place at the foundation of our development" and will focus on "the problems which the state and society encountered and the people who resolved them."

The main thing to be learned from "our great past," IZVESTIYA asserts, is "a truly revolutionary approach toward assessing phenomena and events," and it continues: "No, it is no accident that we are calling revolutionary the changes taking place today when we are renouncing the practice established over decades, breaking molds and stereotypes, and forming new approaches toward many phenomena of social life."

The statement, which is accompanied by a photograph, notes in conclusion that "the sketch published today on page 3 is about the first Soviet Government formed immediately after the October victory."

"In the photograph: session of the Soviet of People's Commissars under the chairmanship of V.I. Lenin in the Smolnyy Institute. Photograph from the book 'Vladimir Ilich Lenin. Life and Activity' [Vladimir Ilich Lenin. Zhizn i Deyatel'nost'] published in 1985 at the 'Progress' publishing house."

The photograph, whose quality of reproduction is poor, shows a mostly seated group of 15 men and 2 women round a desk with Lenin at the center. Standing on his left is Stalin and seated on his right is a man who might possibly be Trotskiy.

On page 3 under the "That's How We Began" rubric IZVESTIYA publishes a 3,500-word article by Yegor Yakovlev under the heading "First Government" describing how Lenin formed the first Soviet of People's Commissars after the October Revolution. Yakovlev lists the government's members, including Trotskiy (for foreign affairs), and Stalin (for nationalities' affairs).

Noting that the people's commissars lacked administrative experience, Yakovlev points out that they had spent a large proportion of their lives in prison or exile and states in particular that "L.D. Bronshteyn (Trotsky), the people's commissar for foreign affairs, had been in the workers movement since the age of 17 and was sent to Siberia at 19" and that "I.V. Dzhugashvili (Stalin), people's commissar for nationalities affairs, was known as David, Koba, Nizheradze, Chizhikov, and Ivanovich, had been exiled six times, and had fled from exile five times." Despite their inexperience, Yakovlev continues, "in each decision they were guided by one thing--their ideas of the interests of the workers and peasants. A different approach would have been interpreted as betrayal of themselves and the point of their lives.

"They all frequently made mistakes," Yakovlev states. "It even happened to Lenin--Vladimir Ilich never concealed the fact. RYKOV, Milyutin, Nogin, Teodorovich were members of the first government just a few days, as they say: By 4 November they had already left it, being on the right wing of the party. Others were uncontrollably attracted by left-wing phraseology. And Lenin asked bitterly: 'What's happened to these people, how can they forget reality because of extracts from a book?'

"He knew them all, mostly for many years. Long before the revolution he wrote: 'You cannot argue with Trotsky in essence because he has no views.' He was also to give the frankest descriptions of those who worked alongside him at the very end of his life when he was dictating his 'letter to the congress'--one of the documents of Vladimir Ilich's political legacy. On Stalin: 'When he became general secretary he concentrated vast power in his hands and I am not sure he will always be able to make sufficiently cautious use of this power.' Of Trotsky: 'excessively self-confident and excessively involved with the purely administrative aspect of the matter.' Of Pyatakov, then deputy chairman of Gosplan: 'a man of undoubtedly outstanding will and outstanding abilities but too involved in administration and the administrative aspect of matters to make it possible to rely on him in a serious political matter.'

Yakovlev emphasizes, however, that Lenin "trusted people":

"Not verbally but in the very essence of his view of those around him, he left them the right to make mistakes: '...we should not see "intrigue" or a "counterweight" in those who think differently or have a different approach to matters, but value independent people.' He obviously realized that otherwise there would arise, develop, and strengthen a generation of people who knew in every detail how things should not be done but you would be utterly unable to find people who understand and know how things should be done."

Yakovlev then describes how the new government's name was chosen and how, after it had embarked on socialist building, "at the end of his life, at the end of 1922 and the beginning of 1923, in his last dictations, Vladimir Ilich was occupied with sociopolitical problems." "I realize very well that any comparison is unsatisfactory but I cannot refrain from recalling that by June 1988 the fundamental reform of the administration of our national economy



will be at its height and the 19th All-Union party conference scheduled to assemble by that date will discuss the question 'of measures for the further democratization of the life of the party and society,'" Yakovlev notes.'

Finally Yakovlev emphasizes the importance the first Soviet government attached to workers' control: "Think now, try to calculate--no, try even to imagine--how many thousands of millions of people in the very first days of Soviet power were drawn into the administration of the state. They received the right to decide and to act. To act and decide without apprehension or circumspection." The ability to understand the demands of the broad masses and to share them even if you do not agree--that was how socialist democracy began and it was on this basis that the first Soviet government began its activity," Yakovlev concludes.

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CSG: 1800/0772

TEACHER DEMANDS TRUTHFUL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS

FM231511 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by V. Svirskiy, a teacher: "History Remains Silent..."]

[Text] There has been a growing number of articles of late about the problems of history teaching. They point out the sketchiness, the lack of an idea of an integrated historical process, the dry presentation of the material in school textbooks, the shortage of popular scientific literature, and so forth.

All this is true, but the main problem, I believe, is to be found elsewhere.

In a recent television broadcast a correspondent asked a senior school pupil with an enthusiasm for history:

"Who was the leader of the Soviet government after Lenin?"

And where would he find that out?! I am sure that tens of millions of people sitting in front of their television screens furrowed their brows: "Yes, who was it?"

One could argue about whether it was proper to ask the question, but it publicly shed light on one of the numerous lacunae in history teaching.

Yawning gaps in it--these are our chief problems.

I read through many history textbooks, beginning with the postwar period. Not only have particular names been expunged, but many events as well: There were no monstrous enormities during collectivization, there was no famine in the thirties, there was no persecution of genetics and cybernetics, there was no economic stagnation... There was nothing to spoil the rosy picture, to disturb the smooth account of the myth which was shaped over decades.

If you assess, say, the events of Soviet history on the basis of the textbooks, it has been one long victorious march, a time which the most serious social disease was a slight dizziness, and that was due to too much success.

Sometimes you get the impression that the writers of textbooks see it as their main task not to explain the nature of a phenomenon, reveal the cause and effect, and teach the younger generation to use historical experience, but to "dress it up" it more expertly, to hide the truth deeper.

In the new USSR history textbooks for the 9th-10th grades, published in 1985-1986, the most obvious distortions of earlier books have been rectified. Pupils are no longer told that the British-American forces landed in Italy after it capitulated, and the Soviet-Finnish War is discussed somewhat more intelligently.

Yet the main flaw has not been corrected. Look at the way the notorious All-Union V. I. Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences (VASKHNIL) session is treated in the 10th grade. "Soviet scientists were also responsible for certain achievements in the sphere of biology. But after the 1948 session of VASKHNIL, whose president at the time was T.D. Lysenko, the predominant trend was one whose theoretical tenets were subsequently not experimentally confirmed and were not used in production."

A veritable masterpiece! It has contrived to conceal from the pupil the most important thing: Why it "predominated" and what grievous consequences resulted from it. Instead, it suggests that there was no damage at all. (But there was no benefit either, although not everything in science is "experimentally confirmed"). In terms of its form it would not appear to be sinning too much against the truth, but in essence it is blasphemy! It is a mockery of common sense, of science (biological and historical), and of memory.

But what an opportunity it presents to the writers of the textbook! To talk with young readers about those who have genuinely served science, about its heroes. To talk about those who did not renounce an idea, who did not make obeisances to time-servers. Show that the feat of N.I. Vavilov and other scientists was akin to that of G. Bruno.

Of course, it is more difficult to tell the bitter truth. But the sugared truth is not only nicer, but immoral as well. By concealing the truth and passing over "inconvenient" names and events in silence, are we not behaving like those tribes who forbid the words "storm," "disease," and "drought"? Slavery did not disappear because Catherine II banned the word "slave." You cannot create a history course at the level of the formulas: Get thee behind me, Satan!

The author of "War and Peace" admitted that he had been "ashamed to write about our triumph in the struggle against Bonaparte's France without describing our failures and our ignominy." "I did it with a feeling akin to bashfulness," Tolstoy explained.

In my view, our history textbooks have become decidedly deficient in terms of bashfulness. Even the unjust wars Russia waged were apparently less unjust as far as it was concerned than as far as its opponents were concerned. No wonder young readers have exactly the same view of the Russo-Japanese War as of the 1812 Patriotic War and the war the Soviet people waged against fascist Germany.

We simply cannot abandon the age-old tradition of blaming anyone except ourselves for all the failures, mistakes, and defeats: "Britain is to blame, it is Wilhelm stirring things up..." The effect of this view was accurately assessed by Gorkiy writing soon after October: "Now we are free we have no one to blame if we are having a bad time of it... We are unable now to organize our life the way it should be, we have only ourselves to blame, ourselves and no one else!" Unfortunately, our textbooks are rather consistently preaching a different formula--"anyone except us."

Read what the textbooks have to say about the reasons for our failures in the first stage of the Great Patriotic War. In line with the idea of not telling any truth that might "offend" us, the authors fail to mention our own mistakes, our political and military errors, the fact that to the very last I.V. Stalin regarded the threat of attack as a provocation. (Note that a textbook published in 1963 was quite definite about this: "Stalin...believed that Germany would not dare violate the nonaggression pact in the immediate future... The Soviet forces were not given the order to deploy their combat troops in good time... So the powerful strike by the enemy armies came as a surprise to the Soviet forces. Caught unawares, our forces immediately sustained heavy losses...").

It is necessary to imprint on one's mind the fact that if it is "except us," then it must be "except me" as well. This is one source of the parasitic mentality, lack of initiative, spiritual apathy, arrogance, negligence, and irresponsibility. It is one explanation why the bulk of our energy is spent not on tackling the various problems which every member of society is confronted with daily and hourly, but on seeking the objective reasons which allegedly prevent these problems from being solved. Anybody might be to blame--a subcontractor, the railroad, the usual severe winter or an unusual drought, the intrigues of suppliers and world imperialism, the forecasting office, and residual obstacles. Anyone except me. This is the fundamental flaw in our thinking. And it is due primarily to the entire existing system of history education. Historical irresponsibility sooner or later is bound to run into moral, economic, and every other kind of irresponsibility.

One may object that by showing the dark side of our history, Soviet in particular, we will damage the patriotic education of our young people. What is the answer to that? Without truth and without respect for the truth as such there can be no patriotism. One can only teach the truth. The moral and pedagogic advantage of this attitude to history is unquestionable. Patriotic education can only gain as a result of it. Because patriotism based on half-truths is not patriotism at all, but a limp, complacent travesty of it. More than 100 years ago, responding to the charges of antipatriotism, P.Ya. Chaadayev wrote: "...I cannot love my fatherland with closed eyes, with bowed head, with mouth tight closed...I believe that the days of blind affection are past, that we owe our homeland the truth first and foremost."

The creation of an honest school course in USSR history is a task of paramount state importance: The destiny of the revolutionary transformations in all areas of life largely depends on the nature of history education in the near future. A guarantee of irreversibility can only be given by people



who are not afraid to speak the truth, however bitter it might be, who will not allow another idol to be set up, who will have their own opinion and be able to defend it.

In order to educate some people what we need is not a patched-up, camouflaged history textbook, but a fundamentally new publication, written from a position of complete historical openness and active thought. A publication which would help solve a very important task--the democratization of social consciousness. We should attach special significance, of course, to recent decades. Many of us still remember them, but they are given the scantest attention in textbooks. In this case the writers presents schoolchildren with a real exercise in verbal gymnastics.

For example, a textbook published in 1983 says that the chief of the 18th Army political section was made Hero of the Soviet Union for great services to the struggle against the German fascist aggressors during the Novorossiysk battles. Correct? Correct. The battles took place and the important title was awarded. But it omits to mention one thing: The fact that the title was awarded over two decades later.

Another example. Ninth grade. After the textbook has revealed Stalin's services and some biographical data, there comes the following sentence: "...But subsequently I.V. Stalin committed a number of very grave errors which were resolutely condemned by the party." Of course, 50-year-olds and those somewhat older can understand the hidden meaning. But what of the schoolchildren? For them, having no idea about the situation at the time in the party and state, this sentence is "blank" information, deliberately supplied.

Pupils in the 10th grade are told (in connection with the topic "20th CPSU Congress") that "the party gave a clear answer to the question about the reasons for the emergence of the Stalin personality cult, its manifestations and essential nature, and its "consequences." All true. But the textbook displays amazing resourcefulness in concealing them. The only explanatory phrase--"the personality cult led to violation of the norms of party and state life"--tells a 17-year-old reader nothing, explains neither the "nature of the manifestation," nor the "essential nature," nor the "consequences" of the cult.

Some "history."

A very serious flaw in the discussion of Stalin is the absence of moral assessments. They are essential! You cannot equate a revolutionary's so-called practical qualities with moral qualities.

Lenin never separated a revolutionary figure's practical qualities from his moral qualities. And it was for that very reason that he proposed that Stalin be replaced as general secretary.

Indeed, the "historical path is not the sidewalk of the Nevskiy Prospekt." But it was the same Chernyshevskiy, the writer of these words, who wrote

to his son from Vilyuysk (letters by great people to their children are invaluable school textbook material, but they are very rarely used, apparently for fear of being accused of expecting too much): "Yes, dear boy, historians are then everyone else, scholars and nonscholars, too often make the stupidest and vilest mistakes imagining that something happened or that bad methods are suitable methods for attaining fine goals...." Calling these ideas stupid, Nikolay Gavrilovich said that "they are suitable only for scoundrels who want to befuddle people's minds and rob them when they are in a state of stupefaction. The means must be the same as the end."

It must be stated plainly that the blow dealt by historical science and its consequences are comparable to the problems our economy suffered as a result of Lysenkoism. Some social science academicians have caused society every bit as much harm as those who once destroyed genetics.

I am well aware that educational science is a reflection of fundamental science which has to elaborate a new concept and provide education with the relevant recommendations. So we have to wait, then? Wait for the esteemed professors to plan and conduct their debates? No! No way! Even in "big" science there are many people who would be able to create fundamentally new textbooks on our history for schoolchildren. And maybe ask writers to participate?

I also visualize an educational book on history made up entirely of documentary material: Let it be an alternative textbook, usage will make a natural selection.

In conclusion: I am not naming the writers of the textbooks I have criticized. It would be a mistake to blame them. In the conditions in which the books were created they could not have created anything else. But the times have changed. It is a different ball game.

From the editorial board: Teacher V. Svirskiy's ideas will certainly leave no one unmoved, since they are concerned with exceedingly important questions. Of course, not everyone will wholly share the writer's opinions, but the article does not aspire to this.

A few words about the writer. He is a teacher, a member of the CPSU, and a Great Patriotic War veteran. He has spent many years teaching in Latvian rural schools and he has worked at the institute for improving teachers' skills in Riga. He has written textbooks, artistic works for children and young people, and popular scientific works.

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CSO: 1800/0772

## RELIGION

### KZYL-ORDA ATHEIST EDUCATION, PROPAGANDA VIEWED

Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by A. Tokbergenov, candidate in pedagogical sciences, chairman of the Scientific-Methodological Council on Propaganda of Scientific Atheism of the Znaniye Society oblast governing board: "The Time to Advance"]

[Text] There are representatives of over 80 nationalities living in Kzyl-Orda Oblast, most of whom traditionally profess the Islam religion. And although religious ideology has today largely lost its position and authority, nevertheless the struggle against it has not lost its current importance. Today there are 8 registered religious communes operating along the lower Syrdarya River. Five of them are Muslim. Hundreds of people of different ages and social strata remain as followers of various "teachings of God". Often the matter here is not one of convictions which have a conscious basis, but of simple ignorance or of a "fashion" towards religion which begins with external symbolics in the form of wearing romantic talismans and amulets and ends with unwitting participation in the support of religious cults. This is particularly true of that part of the youth which for one reason or another has found itself subjected to religious influence. It is specifically this youth which becomes the target for ministers and followers of religious cults. Educating the youth in the spirit of militant atheism is the primary task of the soviet, party and ideological organs in the struggle against vestiges of the past. Today in the oblast there are over 600 agitators and 450 atheist lecturers, including 244 members of the Znaniye Society. There have been 40 atheist propaganda offices created at various enterprises, educational institutions, and rural houses of culture. The public universities and the school of scientific atheism based at the Kzyl-Orda Pedagogical Institute imeni N. V. Gogol have become the center for atheistic training. In order to give antireligious activity a practical character and to ensure the development of its forms and methods, the oblast, city and rayon party committees have developed a special program. In accordance with this program, new ceremonial rites are becoming widespread and communist officials who connive to step up religious activity are being brought to responsibility. Quite recently, 5 such communists have been expelled from the ranks of the CPSU and 3 were issued a strict reprimand with entry into the record for participating in the performance of religious rites. The "swindlers from God" who engage in quackery and "faith healing" also do great harm. With the aid of the community, the law enforcement agencies have identified and brought to criminal responsibility 4 such charlatan "healers" who crippled not only the souls of their patients, but also endangered their health.

The primary role among religious belief in Kzyl-Orda Oblast belongs to Islam. Its adherents often try to organize pilgrimages to the so-called "holy places". Often they are unscrupulous in their selection of such places and are guided by the principle that "to fool the minds [of the people], all means are good, so far as they are removed from the community". Using the ignorance of the pilgrims, the religious leaders proclaimed the historical-architectural monument near the settlement of Yana-Kurgan to be a holy place. Once, doss huts built by the pilgrims sprang up near the mausoleum of Sunak-ata-Samitdin through the "will of God", or more precisely by order of the inventive mullahs. The "holy place" of Arystanbab in Aralskiy Rayon appeared in the same way. The sermons and performance of religious rites and collective prayers was side by side here with unsanitary conditions and open deception until the party organizations and the local Soviets and Komsomol put an end to the existence of these cult centers. Lectures on atheist topics were presented among the faithful. Open debate evenings were organized and popular science films were shown which debunked the religious dogma. This form of atheist work based on the force of conviction and proof yielded results. For example, the former Mullah N. Baltimbekov spoke out in the Aralskiy rayon newspaper TOLKYN with a confession in which he admitted the error of his ways and denounced the inconsistency of the Islamic dogmatists.

For effective atheist training, it is necessary to have the proper combination of various forms and methods of mass antireligious propaganda and individual work. In recent years, the possibilities in this plane have significantly increased thanks to the broad application of technical means. Accompanying lectures on the harm of religion with the showing of films and slides and using other visual aids facilitates better understanding. Such lectures are regularly held in the Kzyl-Ordin Palace of Land Reclamation Specialists, in the clubs of the nonwoven materials factory and the sewing factory. We might add that young people here comprise the overwhelming majority. Fairly good experience in atheist propaganda has also been accumulated in the rural regions of the oblast. Atheism Day was quite interesting at the House of Culture of the Terenozekskiy Sovkhoz in Terenozekskiy Rayon. It began with the ceremonial registration of newborns--a new rite which everyone has taken a liking to. Members of the atheist council, invited friends and relatives of the parents expressed their good wishes to the babies, and honored residents of the sovkhoz brought symbolic gifts. Then experienced lecturers conducted a discussion on the social essence and origins of religious rites. The evening question and answer session organized by the rayon section of the Znaniye Society was lively. The exhibit of books on antireligious topics was interesting. The evening was concluded with the screening of the documentary films "Chudotvorets" [Miracle Worker] and "Bozhi svideteli" [God's Witnesses]. Such measures, I believe, will make a lasting impression on those who participate in them.

The effectiveness of atheist work is increased if it takes into consideration the peculiarities of different categories of the population, as for example age. Young people, as a rule, go to these topical evenings not only to learn, but also to have a good time. Therefore, the more entertaining the program, the more attainable the set goal. Thus, the evening on "The truth about Islam" recently held at the railroad workers' club included a debate on religion and atheism, the viewing of an artistic film, an amateur musician's concert, and a discoteque.



Nevertheless, the influence of religious prejudices on a certain portion of the people is still quite strong. This is especially expressed in the practice of Muslim rites and in celebrating religious holidays. There are also such paradoxical cases when even the people who have been called upon to stand in the avant-garde of atheistic work--teachers and farm managers--themselves take part in celebrating religious holidays and rites, as for example the kurbaneyt, uraza, or wakes with participation of Islamic ministers. The religious holidays, they affirm, have lost their original essence and have become purely symbolic, expressing the peculiarity and color of the national traditions and a respect for one's forebears. This is a deeply erroneous position, and it does great harm primarily to the molding of the consciousness of the upcoming generation. It is no accident that in those schools where we had occasion to encounter loyalty of the instructors to religious prejudices, as questionnaires showed, many of the upperclassmen could not answer the question, much less present an argument to substantiate it: "What harm does religion bring in the present day?" Such answers are most frequently encountered: "I don't think about religion; I am indifferent to Islam; let whoever wants to do so believe in God..." On the surface everything would seem to be in order. The person does not believe in God. In fact, however, such an indifferent, conciliatory position from the standpoint of scientific atheism is inadmissible, since neutrality on questions of religion only plays into the hands of its proponents.

We must concentrate our main attention on atheist education in the school, which must become a filter which will not let religious ideology into the consciousness of the youth. The same is true also for VUZes. We can list numerous examples where a young man or girl in an educational institution actively does social work and is a good student, but at home falls under the influence of religious prejudices. Often a young man who has a higher education diploma does not stop to think, but pays a ransom--money for the bride, or organizes a collective prayer on the occasion of a family celebration. It is such people who respect their grandfather's customs who later become those facilitating the spread of religion. Thus, for example, in Karmakchinskiy Rayon, former official worker and communist M. Turakov for many years engaged in the propaganda of Islam and actively participated in religious rites. The party raykom buro excluded him from the ranks of the CPSU. In Yany-Kurganskiy Rayon M. Remetov and at the Kumzhiyek sovkhos in Kazalinskiy Rayon K. Zhanseyitov used the ignorance of the faithful and simply fooled them for their own mercenary purposes, making themselves out to be enchanterers who had been granted the "gift of God". They too received their just punishment for fraud.

Not only to expose such ministers of Islam and other religions, but primarily to reliably cut off their access to the souls of the people and to create in all the social strata an atmosphere of conscious rejection of any forms of religious manifestation--this is the primary task of every atheist. But, alas, for now it is not being resolved at the necessary level. It is no wonder that recently in Kzyr-Ordin Oblast there has been observed a certain revitalization of religious manifestations, especially among the Muslims. The fault for this lies with the laxness in atheistic work, the limitation and oversimplification of the forms and methods of antireligious propaganda which are still prevalent. The questions of training cadres of atheist lecturers and on-site organizers of antireligious education also require serious attention. The level of lecturers in scientific atheism undergoing training at the pedagogical institute, the

Kzyl-Orda branch of the Dzhambul Hydrological-Land Reclamation-Construction Institute and in the oblast school for young lecturers is still very low. It would be correct, we believe, to train atheist lecturers in specially organized courses based at evening universities of Marxism-Leninism. The reorganization not only in the country's economy, but primarily in the psychology of the people and the activization of the communist ideology demand this.

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## RELIGION

### WHITE CHURCH, RADIO VATICAN MILLENNIUM ACTIVITIES LAMBASTED

Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian 15 May 87 p 3

[Article by B. Petin: "The Falsifiers Are Heraldng the Approach"]

[Text] It has long been noted that professional falsifiers, inveterate anti-communists and antisoviets experience an irresistible passion toward all kinds of anniversary celebrations. A round date for them is one more occasion to make themselves known and one more possibility to show their ambitions in their secret hope to gain...ammunition in the form of a silver coin. And the coming year 1988 promises special dividends. This is the year for celebration of the church anniversary—a 1000 years since the introduction to Christianity to Russia.

Even 6 years ago, in the spring of 1981 at the meeting of the European Union of Radio Broadcasting, dedicated to the 50th anniversary of radio Vatican, this ideological center of papal curia voluntarily assumed the responsibility of disseminating information dedicated to the 1000th anniversary of the Christianization of ancient Russia for the religious programs of imperialist radio centers.

But what does the 1000-year anniversary of Orthodoxy have to do with this, a puzzled reader might ask. It is that various antisoviet organizations which are supported by imperialist ideological centers proclaim themselves to be the sole heirs and interpreters of this well-known historical fact. Radio Vatican also has its own reasons here, which we will mention a little later. But for now let us talk about those who are already in the throes of the convulsions of antisoviet hysteria. Here the first place undoubtedly goes to the so-called Russian Church in exile (RZTs) which is based in the USA--this Vrangeli-White Guard pro-monarchistic remnant of the reactionary emigres which has survived to the present day.

Political intrigues have always been an obsession of the RZTs hierarchs. The clang of military armor literally resounds in their speeches. The current head of the church, archpriest A. Kiselev is a fervent Vlasov follower and an old Hitlerite agent. He states in plain terms that the celebration of the 1000th anniversary of the "christening of Russia" should "not be a celebration--since what celebration can there be in the very heat of battle, but a reinforcement of our forces..." And, as they say, here we go...

The RZIs synod of archbishops recently performed the canonization of a considerable group of new saints, the so-called "Russian martyrs", headed by Czar Nicholas II. It is unknown what funds (which by the way are considerable) are being used in certain European countries and in America to erect memorial churches. Movies have been ordered in Hollywood. Literature hostile to our country is being published which unpardonably falsifies history and praises in every way possible the Romanov monarchy and the landowner-serf order. And, you see, the Russian people are deprived of all these benefits through the fault of the Soviet authorities. In May of next year a special conference is being planned in New York, dedicated to the millenium celebration. A. Solzhenitsy has already been selected as the main speaker at this conference.

In a word, it is the usual petty intrigues of the antisoviets, who are working with sweat on their brow for their daily bread, and are well coordinated by the imperialist propagandists. The arrangements are spoiled, however, by a curious circumstance which has unexpectedly arisen. The Ukrainian nationalist emigres have noisily burst into the arena of the clerical antisoviet devil's sabbath. Interpreting history in its own manner and in accordance with its own political aspirations, the Ukrainian nationalist leadership persistently maintains that "the christening of Russia" is an event of Ukrainian history. It is "Kievan Russia", and has, they say, nothing to do with "Muscovite Russia", where Christianity appeared later. And so the leaders of the Ukrainian clerical nationalist emigres have appealed to American congressmen to help them in erecting in the USA a monument to Prince Vladimir who, "as the head of the Ukrainian state in the 10th Century united the lands and people of the Ukraine, and introduced Christianity in the Ukraine..."

In the interests of truth we must say that the zealous falsifiers are being tugged at the sleeve by their own, more sane leaders, warning that such an action "would be a clear example of historical ignorance of the American Congress." But what of it! The scandalous ideological brawl sometimes subsides, and sometimes flares up again. Even the enlightened propagandist armor-bearers from the Vatican radio, it would seem, should know that in the 10th Century the Ukraine did not exist as a separate entity, just as there was no Russia and Belorussia. There was only Kievan Russia (Rus)--the single mother of the three fraternal peoples. Yet these propagandists eagerly join into the brawl, giving preference to their old friends--the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.

The broadcasts of "Radio Vatican" affirm, for example, that Christianity in "Kievan Russia" has a western origin, while the Slavic teachers Cyril and Methodius were "holy teachers" of the peoples of Europe, acting in the name of the Roman throne.

Here every phrase is a trick, every affirmation is a forgery. After all, who should know if not the Vatican radio Roman-Catholic priests that, first of all, during the time of the "christening of Russia" Christianity had not yet become a unified ideological formation and secondly, Prince Vladimir, as well as his predecessors, we might add, was guided by sober political motivation: the Byzantine variant of Christianity ensured the priority of the secular (princely) authority over the church, and did not make it dependent on the Roman throne.



We might add that the Vatican has its own interests here. The propagandists of the papal curia are acting not so much in the interests of historical truth, of course, as they are in the interests of their own persistent idea of the resurrection of the Uniate Church in the western regions of the Ukraine, in the interests of "eastern politics" of the Vatican directed at realizing the papal throne's "azure dream" of creating and strengthening the positions of clericalism in the Soviet Union.

The antisoviet falsifiers are heralding the regular ideological approach. This time, the first trumpet of the anticommunists is sounded by the clerics, who are unpardonably changing the history of our country's peoples. However, the masters of lies and falsification--be they from politics or from the church--have never yet attained the laurels of victory.

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WEEKLY HAILS RYBAKOV NOVEL ABOUT STALIN ERA

PM100745 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 8 Jul 87 p 4

[A. Turkov article: "'...So As To Sail on in the Revolution.' On Anatoliy Rybakov's Novel 'The Children of the Arbat'"]

[Text] One of the last articles written by Lenin contains remarkable words full of sober awareness of the uncharted and difficult path lying ahead of the newborn social system:

"One probably ought to consider as lost any Communists who imagine that it is possible without mistakes, without deviations, without repeatedly redoing whatever is unfinished or has been done incorrectly, to complete a world historical 'enterprise' like laying the foundations of a socialist economy (especially in a country of small peasants)."

Artistic interpretation of everything our people have experienced in the last 70 years and painstaking separation and isolation of genuine successes and achievements from "whatever is unfinished or has been done incorrectly"--this is the spirit of many of the best works of Soviet literature in recent years, and the list of them is still growing.

The lines written by the poet long ago have an exceptionally topical sound now:

"People are boats. Even though on dry land.  
"You live your allotted time,  
"While muddy limpets of all sorts  
"Stick to the side.  
"And having once sailed through the raging storm,  
"You bask in the sun,  
"Scraping off green seaweeds  
"And crimson jellyfish slime.  
"But I clean myself up with Lenin  
"So as to sail in the revolution."

You think of all this when reading Anatoliy Rybakov's novel "The Children of the Arbat" [Deti Arbata] (the journal DRUZHEBA NARODOV, Nos. 4-6, 1987).

The old and beloved Moscow street, treated like a memorial nowadays, is not simply resurrected in the novel in its noisy guise in the early thirties, with

clanging streetcars and rumbling drays still traversing it, but acts as a launchpad for an exceptionally vivid picture of a time captured at one of its most dramatic moments.

The years 1933-1934... A time of intense work at construction sites, from one of which Ryazanov, an "almost legendary" captain of industry, appears from time to time in the apartment of his Moscow relatives, a time when towers rose in the quiet Arbat alleys over the shafts of the subway that was being built. A time of great hopes and enthusiastic demonstrations ("Flags, banners, and portraits swayed above the ranks... Stalin... Stalin... Stalin..."). The novel's main hero Sasha Pankratov, Ryazanov's nephew and an ardent Komsomol member, is not the only one who sees the country as a vast seething construction site and is in a hurry to take his place in it.

And from this viewpoint many things which should have alerted people are obscured for a while and are totally justified by the onset of "hard times" and the "implacable laws of history," like, for example, the sight which Ryazanov glimpsed during his travels, the sight of railroad stations crammed with people and overcrowded plant barracks--"peasant Russia turned upside down and displaced from the land"--or the quite fleetingly glimpsed "large crowd" outside a store in one of the capital's streets and the "other, smaller" crowd "huddled up around Kalinin's reception room." The cause, the cause, the cause above all else!

All else?... All the people crowded in the endless lines "at checkout counters or boilers with hot water," all the "silent people on the benches along the wall" in the corridors of various offices, where "the air is full of human grief" and where even Sasha, fired with genuine enthusiasm, is soon to embark on his path of suffering, Sasha who is also bursting to join in the cause but falls victim to the false words, brazen demagoguery, and unprincipled politicking that have "stuck to him"?!

Against the background of this life, one of the notorious "casualties" [shchepki] that are supposedly quite permissible waste products of the cause, against the background of this clash between a teenager's pure and shining faith in the cause and the much more complex reality, against the background of diverse reactions by relatives, friends, and acquaintances to all that is happening to Sasha--reactions which are described with great psychological insight and historical accuracy in the book--one becomes increasingly aware of the terrible and alarming consequences of the grave mistake against which Lenin warned in his "testament," calling for a sober assessment of the "human factor"--the new leader's character and qualities.

The brash and widely popularized formula of the thirties--"Stalin is Lenin today"--was increasingly revealing its untenability to an objective observer.

"...What Lenin intended to last 'really for a long time' lasted for only a short while," Budyagin, an old communist, reflects. "Stalin did away with the New Economic Policy, claiming that he was obeying Lenin's behest... Even now, he swears by Lenin at every step and makes himself out to be almost the initiator and inspirer of Lenin's decisions. But instead of the socialist democracy for which Lenin strove, Stalin has created a completely different regime."

Not restricting himself to such "indirect" judgments, Rybakov has made a bold attempt at recreating Stalin's own interior world at that time, his true character, and the real causes and motivations of his behavior and the decisions he made.

What we see is by no means a one-dimensional figure covered, depending on writers' stance and mood, either in shining gloss or thick black paint.

Like his injured arm, this man has also carried a spiritual pockmark for many years. He harbors not only a natural sincere anguish for his father's shiftlessness, an anguish that is sometimes communicated to the reader, but also a morbidly exaggerated memory of all the hardships and humiliations experienced at the very beginning of his life and even of much later wounds to his pride.

All this results in an incredible thirst for self-assertion, for a kind of revenge, which gradually and increasingly transforms, or rather deforms, his views: from the protection of people as hapless as he himself had been to concern about how to control people more reliably; from attacks on the strongholds of the former power to secret thoughts about the "bastion of fear" that must be built in order to protect the people and the country" (and not least to consolidate his own position).

The men who back in his childhood, was "struck by half-derelict churches... with their echoing emptiness and their remote mysticism," is now hatching plans to turn Moscow into a "majestic monument to HIS epoch" by "demolishing everything old."

He is equally determined to reshape history, which "ought to confirm that Stalin is the real heir of Lenin" and that he supposedly "always stood next to Lenin." This is why Avel Yenukidze's naively truthful brochure, which in some respects does not tally with these claims, is classified as an "action aimed at distorting our party's history"; the sinister figure of Beriya, ready to obey any order from the "boss," already looms on the horizon. In his future book, poor history will of course provide any evidence that is required, like the evidence which Investigator Dyakov tries in vain to obtain from Sasha Pankratov with his threatening questions: "Do you mean to tell me that you were arrested for absolutely no reason at all? Do we put innocent people inside? Even here you are continuing your counterrevolutionary agitation..."

This jesuitical "logic" is sometimes extraordinarily reminiscent of the tangled thinking used, the author imagines, by "Lenin's true heir," who secretly believes that his predecessor had been a starry-eyed liberal, to justify his own actions and decisions.

Stalin is convinced: "What Lenin called bureaucratic distortion is the only possible form of rule. There is a danger in it: Bureaucracy strives to come between the people and the supreme power and tries to supplant the supreme power. This must be mercilessly stopped. The apparatus is an unquestioning executor of the supreme will, it must be kept in a state of fear, and the fear implanted in it will be transmitted to the people."



This is one of the novel's most important pages, laying bare the vulnerability of all such theories. An apparatus which must live in permanent fear for its own existence is, of course, just another variation on the subject of the "bastion of fear" which is supposedly needed to protect the people and the country. Alas, the protectors who were produced as a result of this operation subsequently proved disappointing on numerous occasions, with bitter historical experience proving the correctness of warnings issued on this score long ago. Saltykov-Shchedrin, for example, wrote: "...It is impossible to restrict indifferentism to just one sphere of life and halt its spread to all other spheres. It is impossible to tell someone: 'Here, in the sphere of domestic interests, you will be indifferent and short on initiative, but there, in the sphere of external security, you must be ardent and invent everything that is needed to scare enemies.' This is impossible, first, because domestic interests always affect man more directly and, second, because the spirit of initiative does not descend from heaven but is nurtured through education and practice."

But that is not all: Only in a state of total intoxication with power (truly a state of "dizziness with success"!) could anyone believe that the bureaucratic "apparatus" and the "officialdom" about which Lenin was so wary would obediently be like putty in the hands of the new leader [vozhd]. This bureaucratic phoenix which always rises from the ashes is a bird with sharp beak and talons which is well skilled in either pecking its "boss" to death while his attention is distracted or gradually confusing him with its slick and false tales to such an extent that he comes to resemble the character in Griboyedov's play who went into one room only to find himself in another.

And I think that truthful history, free from all sorts of "orders," still has to determine who was the real "author" of the notorious statutes and measures of the epoch in question--I.V. Stalin himself, or the "unquestioning executor of the supreme will," the bureaucratic apparatus.

The redoing and elimination of whatever "has been incorrectly done" are still a complex matter, even today. It was all the more unbelievably difficult to realize the need to do this at the height of the events, let alone to actually influence them.

After all, many were still not aware of the gradual deviation from Leninist principles and were inclined to even seek justifications for all that was being done before their eyes--like Ryazanov in his disappointment over what had happened to his nephew, who "went downhill to jail and exile in Siberia" through his own fault.

Others, however, like Budyagin for example, were perfectly aware of the total injustice and incorrectness of a number of actions in those years but were pushed into the background and deprived of any opportunity to do anything real. Yet others, like Kirov, who appears relatively briefly in the novel's pages with his serious and bitter reflections, continued to hope that Stalin would ultimately have to take the objective logic of events into account when his rigorous wilfulness began all too obviously to be a brake on the country's further development. As for open opposition to the incorrect course, that still appeared futile: "To oppose Stalin is to oppose the country and the party. No one would support it."

In this way, not only relying on authentic facts and testimony but also frequently venturing to hypothetically recreate forgotten or deliberately erased links between events, Anatoliy Rybakov presents a highly impressive picture of the time and a most convincing version of what happened then, with all its tense drama.

The novel ends on a most tragic note: It is clear that the next victims will be not only Budyagin, who dared to even partially contradict Stalin directly, but also Ryazanov, with his enthusiastic attitude toward the leader, while Yuriy Sharok, Sasha Pankratov's schoolmate and his complete opposite in character, is still "climbing high." An unprincipled careerist, he becomes Dyakov's right-hand man and future merciless "controller" of people's lives. This powerfully depicted figure already has several predecessors in recent literature: Remember, for example, Trifonov's Glebov-Baton with his miserable envy of the inhabitants of "the house on the embankment."

Isn't it bitter for Sasha Pankratov, at the height of his powers and in the prime of his life, to find himself in the backwoods of the Taiga, in a Siberian village which has suffered greatly from the "excess" of collectivization, and to encounter even at that "molecular" level the very same suspicion, prejudice, and injustice spreading like an oil slick?

But it is not simply through a desire to add a glimmer of light to this alarming picture that the author watches his hero experiencing new feelings and thoughts as he stands above the majestic Angara River, "whose waters rushed among rocks and forests, from unknown lands to unknown lands," and at other moments of his difficult life there, when the young man is acquiring a strengthening awareness of the "great eternity" surrounding him--mighty nature and the people's life, which presents him with unexpected encounters, love, simple human warmth, and reflections on his experiences, which are a bitter but necessary and sobering lesson for him.

Following the initial shock of the calamity that has befallen her, even Sasha's mother Sofya Aleksandrovna, separated from him and initially a timid and not particularly bright woman living a luckless life, displays not only a great tenacity but also an independence of action and judgment resulting from her sufferings.

"Oh, hell, everything is still in the future, everything is still in the future," Sasha thinks at one bright moment. Of course, much is still to come, and it is far from what he is dreaming of. Appropriately, the news of Kirov's murder arrives at this point like a bombshell. But now the hero's perception of all the life around him becomes incomparably deeper and broader, his attitude toward people becomes more thoughtful and more tolerant, and his faith that "what is human in man has never been and never will be killed" is reinforced by his own trials and by the example of many people--from Varya, whom he previously perceived only as a frivolous person, to the exiled Father Vasiliy with his calm and modest readiness to "render unto others that which you have," to Maslov begging his wife to renounce him for her own and for the children's sake, to that same woman silently and firmly rejecting these entreaties...

These are the most modest and at the same time most convincing "opponents" of cunning theories about the omnipotent force of fear, theories which are themselves actually bred by fear of the people's independent thought, of the fact that it will inevitably be necessary to answer to it.

This argument is not concluded in the novel. Victory for the side with which you sympathize with all your heart is, contrary to the well known saying, a long way away. Nor is it concluded in reality, although our state's entire subsequent history proves convincingly who was right.

Anatoliy Rybakov's most ardent and most daring book is a weighty argument in this lengthy and principled discussion. Due credit should be given to the author's persistence and foresight for having conceived and written his book long before favorable conditions for its publication had started to emerge.

Of course, the publication of "The Children of the Arbat" does not in any way "close the file": Further research is necessary into all the complexities of the past, especially by historical scientists.

But it is really gratifying that this time literature has made excellent use of its own potential and has outpaced its "neighbors," like infantry forces valiantly scaling the obstacles before them without waiting for the arrival of the "main forces."

And this boldness and independence of thought, which have still alerted and frightened some people as they did in the past, arrived right on time to quench the thirst felt by millions of people for the truth about everything experienced by the country and the people, a truth which, as has been correctly said, ought not to evade dramatic aspects or leave blank spots. A truth which is necessary in order to march on with greater confidence.

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CSO: 1800/766

YOUTH PAPER REVIEWS RYBAKOV NOVEL

PM230829 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jun 87 p 4

[Olga Kuchkin book review: "Whatever Happens; on The New Novel by Anatoliy Rybakov 'Children of the Arbat'"]

[Text] This is an easy novel to read because Anatoliy Rybakov is an excellent storyteller; he knows how to construct a plot and does so with taste and skill.

It is a difficult novel to read because many of its pages oppress you with their subject matter. Literary subject matter of course, but at the same time so familiar from life--for some people through their relatives and friends and for some people personally. The subject matter is oppressive because it did not happen to some isolated literary hero--however pleasing to the living--it happens to our own people. The severest feeling perhaps is the feeling of impotence. You see how ordinary, good people are driven into a corner, you see how injustice is committed, and you know that it is all true and there is nobody to help. Some people tried and fell into the same snares, some people gave up--are they to be judged for this? However, the answer every time is specific and the same.

In examining one of the dramatic periods of Soviet history (1934), Anatoliy Rybakov focuses his attention on some very young people: Sasha Pankratov aged 22, his former classmates Lena Budyagina, Yura Sharok, Vadim Marasevich, and Nina Ivanova, and his sister Varya who is even younger. They are the same age as today's 20-year olds. It is worth stressing this particularly. The novel is to a large degree for them, for the people of today. The past does not pass. It exists. It is with us and in us. Thinking about what has happened means participating in what will happen, in one's consciousness and in one's acts.

Embarking on life, youthful and joyful hopes in a country which is also joyful and young--the name of the party congress alone is worth something: the congress of the victors! It starts with this. It continues uneasily and sadly. He [presumably Sasha] spoke about the spades which a storeman, detained for 10 minutes, came and issued (but the "antiparty behavior" of institute deputy director Krivoruchko was being investigated, and it was not worth saying anything in his defense), and about an unscrupulous lecturer, which was suitable for giving an idea about accountancy as such (but he was



accused of criticizing the Marxist basis of the science of accounting); a wall newspaper was published with epigrams (debasement of shock working)--and matters began to snowball. It seems such absurd nonsense, as if there is confusion about everybody--soon it will disperse, everybody will laugh, and life will continue bright and free. But nothing disperses and nothing continues. Sasha was jailed.

Others were jailed for trifles. The letter "v" in the word "vskryt" [vskryt means disclose, skryt means conceal] was missing in a Stalin text--the typographical worker was jailed. The examples can be multiplied and the novel does this.

In Sasha's case, it seems, Sasha is not to blame at all. It appears he is just a pawn in a scheme being played out by organs which require a large-scale plot (in the novel this is never fully sorted out, but the novel is only part of an epic conceived by the author). But what is the plot in the case of the letter "v"? Why was everything shrouded in suspicion, why could anybody fall under suspicion?

The novel gives a precise and artistically convincing answer to these questions.

There are essentially two main figures in "Children of the Arbat" [Deti Arbata]: Sasha Pankratov and Stalin.

The figure of Stalin is nothing new in literature and art. But previously he was as a rule an ostentatious figure. The filling of the familiar pipe, the familiar screwing up of the eyes, the accompanying locanic examples of Stalinist wisdom culled from his collected works--these are the customary attributes which have been transposed from prose to painting, and from painting to the movies.

This time we have before us a different leader. The writer makes the first attempt in Soviet literature to approach his hero as a strictly literary, though also historical, character, providing not only a deep sociopolitical but also a psychological foundation to his character, and in my view he manages this fittingly. It might have been expected that--to counterbalance the ostention--something directly opposed would appear, producing an overtly negative attitude on the part of the author toward his creation. Nothing of the sort. The serious writer remains a serious writer. Rybakov writes Stalin from within, as if reconstructing the internal course of his thoughts, his logic, and his philosophy, and nowhere does he depart from the tone. It is evident in everything that the work was difficult, and this same difficult work lies in store for the reader.

It is difficult because--in accordance with life--the writer shows together and indistinguishably the "correct" and "incorrect" aspects in Stalin's world view and Stalin's principles. It was necessary to raise the country out of poverty, it was necessary to build up its industrial might, it was necessary to consolidate society--these were the practical tasks in the establishment of the Soviet state which required a solution? How? At what price?

At the cost of unprecedented human sacrifices? There was--and still is--a viewpoint which justifies the sacrifices. It is professed by adherents of "order," who long for "Stalin's firm hand," suffering from a strange visual aberration: They stubbornly fail to see the negative aspects of such a policy and see only the positive aspects. It is the old discussion about ends and means. But if Anatoliy Rybakov had been conducting merely such a discussion, he would hardly have managed to say anything new about the problem of Stalin--that acute problem not only of history, but also of the present day.

The writer does say something new, delicately and precisely depicting these ends. Not the avowed aim proclaimed in slogans, posters, speeches, and textbooks, but the secret and true aim. This aim was personal power. A genius of power--that is what Stalin was. Analyzing Machiavelli's formula ("Power based on the people's love for the dictator is a weak power because it depends on the people, but power based on the people's fear of the dictator is a strong power, because it depends on the dictator alone"), Stalin--in Rybakov's account--deduces his own even more brilliant formula: "Stable power is power based on both fear of and love for the dictator. A great ruler is one who can inspire love for himself through fear. It is such a love when the people and history ascribe all the cruelties of his reign not to him but to the executors." It is as simple as that. And it is thus that a whole people can be hypnotized. Rybakov speaks bitter truth not only about the ruler, but also about the people, instigating that the people stare themselves in the face. I stress that it is the writer speaking. Historians would perhaps see things differently. Well, let them say what they think.

In analyzing Aleksandr Bek's novel "New Appointment" [Novoye Naznachenie], the well known economist G. Popov analyzes the Administrative System which is in fact the real hero of Bek's prose.

Rybakov writes about another system--the System of Fear.

The personal qualities of the main character--capriciousness, suspiciousness, unforgivingness, and at the same time consistency, will, and also iron logic--multiplied by an exceptional thirst for power and the desire to go down in history as the unique leader of a unique state created the frightening phenomenon whose presence creates such an oppressive and painful atmosphere in the novel.

Be attentive when you read it. Do not be lazy in thinking and comparing, analyze it, separating the grain from the chaff. Indeed the author is on watch. Without "revealing" himself at all in transmitting the internal monologues of his hero and giving him the opportunity to speak out fully, the author close to the end writes a detailed episode with the dentist Lipman who was fitting Stalin with a new crown. Lipman works excellently, he explains everything (Comrade Stalin does not like it when he does not understand something), fixes the headrest first, then invites him to sit in the chair (Comrade Stalin does not like it when people fiddle behind his back), successfully administers the anaesthetic, and successfully does the bridge. Comrade Stalin likes his work. Nonetheless he vents his anger on the dentist--it concerns Kirov, but

Stalin never addresses his feelings toward the person whom they concern. Having finished, Lipman makes a "personal request" to Stalin. Stalin frowns, he does not like it when people bypass the established rules. In spite of a previous refusal, Lipman still requests plastic, it is better than gold, just let Comrade Stalin try. And, oh miracle! -- Comrade Stalin is actually pleased. Henceforth the example of Lipman as a professional who is not afraid even of his, Stalin's, anger features in Stalin's reasonings. The grateful patient presents the dentist with a bag full of grapes. However, following Lipman's departure, Stalin learns that he and Kirov have exchanged a few good-natured words.

"In the evening, while signing papers, Stalin said to Tovstukha:

"'The dentist Lipman is to be replaced by another.'

"And after consideration, he added:

"'Dismiss him from the Kremlin hospital, but don't touch him.'"

This excerpt is a literary gem. The character of the main personage is clearly visible.

The wanderings of Sasha Pankratov from prison to exile can be described as wanderings through the purgatory engendered by Stalinism. They could also be called "his universities." Both would be correct.

But the lives of other people of Sasha's generation could also be called "universities" of the time. Some of them remained steadfast, unthinking people, others became knowledgeable, while others still--though hating the system and society in their souls--adapted themselves, deriving mercenary profit for themselves. It must be said that not everybody inherits the author's artistic freedom equally: Some people are done out of their share and function on the pages of the novel rather than come alive. Nonetheless, what happens to Vika Marasevich, Varya Ivanova, and especially of course Sasha is reminiscent of a true-to-life document, almost a journal.

The shepherd does not prove to have a uniform flock. It turns out that the depicted facade is one thing, but real life is another. The fact that some souls are corrupt is also the result of absence of freedom and an inculcated sense of fear. People such as Sasha Pankratov are all the more precious. It is remarkable that we have before us not a passive hero, on whom one would like to impose a standardized reader's concept, but a powerful hero, strong in mind and body. And whereas initially he still has doubts and hesitations, his trials temper him and very soon he reveals real manly maturity. He does not give in either at the refinement of the investigator in prison, or at the malicious attacks of the scum Timofey in the Taiga. Also characteristic of him is the eternal sense of guilt of the intellectual toward the people. But he (like the author) has sufficient courage to look the truth in the face and call things by their proper names. Standing on the platform of real Bolshevism and real morality, Sasha--as the saying goes--embodies the best features of a generation, representing that majority which despite

repressions and personal sad losses remained pure and unbroken and bore on its shoulders everything that followed later, including 1937 and 1941 and several other years.

The novel was announced for publication by Aleksandr Tvardovskiy exactly 20 years ago--there still exists a dustcover of NOVIY MIR attesting to this. But then it was only one part. Today the novel consists of three parts.

And that is the customary fate and the customary duty of a writer to his people--to work at any period, whatever happens. That is the fate and duty of every citizen. There is no point in pretending that this fate is separate from the rest of the people, and that everything in it was strictly straightforward. Rybakov was awarded the Stalin prize for his novel "Drivers" [Voditeli]. But as a student he himself was arrested and sent into exile: the novel "Children of the Arbat" is autobiographical. We may recall the life of Yuriy Trifonov--they are similar in some ways. It is especially evident from living examples which vices of the past we are now overcoming and what difficult work to restore human dignity, thought, initiative, and confidence in social justice our party and the whole people are engaged in.

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## BOOK FEATURING STALIN 'MODIFIES' HISTORY

PM161428 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 16 Jul 87 p 6

[An. Makarov article: "Degrees of Fantasy"]

[Excerpt] Everyone knows about the mutual jealousy between documentary writers and literary writers who adhere to the purely artistic reflection of reality. One side preaches strict fidelity to the document, to eyewitness testimony, to the event which took place in real life, while the other side is guided by the laws and caprice of creative imagination in its work. And while the literary writer's imagination has the right to take some real event as a starting point, the documentary writer who knowingly neglects factual accuracy risks nullifying the purpose of his work, that is, distorting the real picture of existence. What can one say about those cases where conjecture is not simply present in the form of lyrical digressions or imaginative suppositions, but actually modifies history, unceremoniously encroaching on the actual fate of a significant historical personality?

Mikhail Kanyuka and Ivan Ryadchenko defined their story "Up the Steps to the Temple" ["Stupenyami k Khramu"], published in the Kiev weekly UKRAINA (in issues 5 through 10, 1987) as "artistic documentary." In other words, they consciously defend their right, in telling of the highly talented Soviet sculptor Vera Ignatyevna Mukhina and how she created her most famous sculpture, "The Worker and the Kolkhoz Member," to use the methods of "pure" literature. For instance, to reproduce in their own way real conversations which have come down to our time only in outline. Or, say, to describe the landscapes against which the actual events took place by means of picturing with their own literary vision the countryside of the Moscow region and the squares of Paris. It would be strange to upbraid the authors for this kind of license, to carp at trivia or seek partial inaccuracies; when the most important thing is present in the text, namely the atmosphere of authenticity, the question of whether prose of this kind allows a fusion of factual material and creative imagination disappears of its own accord.

But the whole point is that it would be stretching a point to speak of an atmosphere of authenticity in the story "Up the Steps to the Temple." It looks as if the authors were not too concerned about that. The psychology of the creative process; the inner drama of an artist with a sense of truly historic responsibility for the task facing her--Vera Mukhina had to show the world a crystallized three-dimensional image of socialism; the political

complexity of the times (it is 1937), which have little in common with the conditions in which masterpieces are born freely and unintentionally--all this is, so to speak, pushed into the background by M. Kanyuka's and I. Ryadchenko's intention of presenting the story of the birth and raising of "The Worker and the Kolkhoz Member" on the soviet pavilion building in Paris in the form of an entertaining adventure story, a thriller.

The genre of an action-packed "adventure" presupposes, apart from mystery and innuendo, the presence of certain higher forces equivalent to fate itself, so should we be surprised at the truly decisive role which the figure of Stalin plays in the story? It does not worry the authors that Vera Ignatyevna Mukhina never met Stalin personally and, moreover, as Aleksandr Bek testifies, held an unflattering opinion of pictures and sculptures which faithfully fostered the personality cult of the "leader" ["vozhd"]. M. Kanyuka and I. Ryadchenko made their story culminate in what they undoubtedly intend to be a striking chapter written in the idyllic tones of narrow-minded mythological "Staliniana."

...A military man "in a cap with a blue band" appears in Mukhina's apartment at three in the morning. Let us suppose that the reader has not been told that V. Mukhina, together with her husband, the well known doctor A.A. Zamkov, had already suffered administrative exile, and does not know that during those years many of her "heroes," people whose sculptural portraits she had fashioned, had suffered repressions. Even so, the order "Comrade Mukhina? Get ready!" would have an entirely unequivocal effect on the reader's mind.

But we need not have worried. The man in the cap delivered Vera Ignatyevna Mukhina directly to Stalin's office. And the leader [vozhd] naturally treated Mukhina affectionately, with his characteristic fatherly playfulness. And he uttered a historic phrase to the effect that from now on her work belongs not only to her. It is the people's property, and could become the property of all the peoples. "We are responsible for its life."

Need one explain that, in the opinion of the story's authors, the "weight" of these words made an indelible impression on the sculptor?

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## ESTABLISHED AUTHORS' MASSIVE PRINT RUNS QUESTIONED

PM161511 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 3

[Candidate of Philosophical Sciences N. Vladimirov article: "Writes and Print Runs; Publishing Needs Openness"]

[Text] The restructuring of book publishing puts on the agenda a question on which hitherto a "delicate" silence has been maintained: Which authors should be included in publishing plans and for what reasons.

Having worked for many years in the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade apparatus, I am well aware of how the hierarchy of publishing preferences is made up. Priority is given to foreign and domestic classics, and to leading Soviet writers. There are still not enough such books being published, and not least, in my view, because publishing principles and the criteria for compiling plans have been altered over the last 10-15 years, and sometimes simply deformed. This is explained by the numerous and traditional forms of pressure on publishing houses and even State Committees for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade both "from above" and "from the side." In the complex calculation of publishing policy one has to take account of factors such as the prestige of literary figures who have been awarded prizes and awards; the influence of the sizeable cohorts of the "literary management"; the presence of various groups of writers whom certain publishing houses consider to be their "own"; requests in the form of directives...

I am by no means claiming that the writers themselves "push" their own books or exploit their own popularity. However, publishing plans contain patent anomalies. Several generations of Soviet children have been raised on the books of S. V. Mikhalkov; his books are probably in every family and certainly in every library. Over the last 10 years 219 of his books have been published with a total print run of more than 70 million. There is nothing bad about these figures in themselves. But comparison (for all its relative accuracy) shows that they are three times higher than, for instance, the indicators for the publication of the works of Saltykov-Shchedrin over the same period... This year will see almost 7 million copies of 14 books added to this figure, with 3 titles being planned by the "Children's Literature" Publishing House. These included small books and works of various genres. And although it is hard to find the poet's best works on sale, the question automatically arises: Are not these figures excessive against the background of the general book shortage?

Clearly, certain authors' large print runs objectively force their fellow writers out of publishing plans. It is good when an author's "most favored status" is determined by writing talent. It is bad if the publishing of books by one talented individual objectively "shortchanges" another.

Large anomalies in publishing also occur when reader demand is presented as the final arbiter of truth. Yes, we do have many people who prefer detective fiction, but does this mean that the 70 books by Yu. Semenov published over the last 10 years with a print run of more than 6.5 million can be considered normal from the standpoint of the needs and interests of our entire literature?

The question of consideration for writers' prestige is particularly delicate. Here are a number of well known writers and the indicators for the publication of their books in the last two 5-year plans. Yu. Bondarev, 95 titles (9.8 million copies); A. Ananyev, 78 titles (6.78 million copies); A. Likhanov, 75 titles (5.9 million copies); G. Markov, 68 titles (8.2 million copies); A. Chakovskiy, 60 titles (5.7 million copies); B. Vasilyev, 59 titles (5 million copies); V. Kaverin, 55 titles (6.6 million copies); I. Stadnyuk, 41 titles (4.6 million copies); Ye. Yevtushenko, 41 titles (2.5 million copies); R. Rozhdestvenskiy, 37 titles (2.15 million copies); S. Dangulov, 31 titles (2.8 million copies)... Is this too much or too little? From the point of view of meeting market demand it is too little. But against the backdrop of the overall publishing picture it is more than generous. This becomes quite obvious if one uses as a comparison the publishing indicators for certain other writers whose popularity is also not subject to changing fashion: V. Chivilikhin, 19 titles (1.9 million copies); Yu. Kazakov, 16 titles (1,625,000 copies); the Strugatskiy brothers, 13 titles (858,000 copies); V. Akhmadulina, 7 titles (216,000 copies)...

Large print runs often occur with the publication of books by popular authors at republic and territorial publishing houses. They include the work of these authors in their subject plans to a considerable extent in order to improve their financial position. It can be said that books by "record-breaking" writers will be sold and not languish in bookstore basements. In the conditions of the severe book shortage which we are experiencing "from Moscow to the very borders" this, you will agree, is by no means a convincing argument. Another aspect of the problem is more important. Our writers are a moral as well as a literary phenomenon. When it is a question of astronomical print runs I think writers should be particularly scrupulous on this question. I recall how at a USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade conference Valentin Rasputin proposed removing his books from publication in favor of additional printings of historic works by Solovyev and Klyuchevskiy. Of course, this is not the solution to the question of print run policy, but the position adopted by this leading Soviet writer cannot fail to arouse profound respect.

Do not misunderstand me: By no means am I claiming that only the aforesaid writers are published on such a scale. Books by such, shall we say, recognized authors as L. Leonov, V. Rasputin, V. Astafyev, and many others have also been and are published in massive print runs. I am only saying that publishing policy must be substantially improved and that, unfortunately, the "attendant circumstances" hampering the formation of the optimum publishing



proportions are still too strong. This has a particularly clear effect on the publication of multivolume works. It can be said with no exaggeration that collected works and selected works published in an author's lifetime have turned into a veritable scourge for publishing houses. For instance, it is planned to bestow this honor on 820 literary figures. More than 800 living classics?! Just 10 years ago there were only half as many "selected" authors... How can one fail to recall the biographical evidence that Aleksandr Fadeyev, even at the height of his fame, invariably rejected proposals to publish his collected works during his lifetime!... The existing rule whereby the collected works of living authors are only published under special circumstances has somehow been forgotten...

I think that the time has come to resolutely eschew the practice of publishing "esteemed writers" in uncontrolled print runs. Here too the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade, whose function include the establishment of optimum publishing proportions in the light of the demand for certain books and the objective potential of the publishing base, should make its own weighty contribution. Considerable efforts are now being made to protect publishing houses from all types of outside pressure and to overcome their dependence on all types of circumstances that have nothing to do with literature. However, it will be unbelievably difficult to get things moving without active cooperation from the USSR Writers Union. Today it is necessary to work out a special mechanism which would make it possible to develop printing policy on a scientific basis. I think that the resolution of this vexed question will be promoted by an in-depth survey of the reading audience and by the development of openness, the absence of which is entirely intolerable in publishing. Only thus can we clear the way for new talents and release paper and printing resources. Without changing the mechanism for shaping publishing plans, the restructuring initiated in publishing runs the risk of remaining nothing more than a fine wish.

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## USSR WRITERS' UNION SECRETARIAT DEVELOPS WORK PLANS

PM241016 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jul 87 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "At the USSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat: Forward, Times!"]

[Text] The secretaries of the boards of the USSR and RSFSR Writers' Unions and the Moscow Organization, leaders of literary-artistic publications, and representatives of the literary public assembled in the conference hall of the USSR Writers' Union on that day [13 July]--an extended session of the USSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat discussed the tasks of the country's writers' organizations in fulfilling the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum.

Opening the session, V. Karpov, first secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board, said that a very important meeting had just taken place at the CPSU Central Committee, to which leaders of the mass information media and creative unions and chief editors of journals had been invited. Such meetings, talks, and discussions, at which there is an exchange of opinions between the party leadership and representatives of the creative intelligentsia on topical questions of our society's life, are becoming a fruitful tradition. This meeting discussed further increasing the role of the press, television, and radio in the restructuring process and in fulfilling the tasks outlined by the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum. The meeting, V. Karpov said, lasted several hours, and if Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, busy and overloaded with work and concerns as he is, could allot so much time to the conversation which took place, it is clear what significance the Politburo and the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee attach to this joint work and to the elaboration of an integrated approach in implementing the party's main line. V. Karpov and other speakers at the extended session of the secretariat who also took part in the meeting at the CPSU Central Committee, S. Mikhalkov, M. Alekseyev, S. Baruzdin, and A. Salynskiy, sharing their impressions, particularly noted the atmosphere, which fostered the candid, honest, direct expression of thoughts, ideas, and reflections on the complete phenomena of reality, disputed issues, and difficult current problems. This kind of discussion arms and inspires us.

"...We greatly value what our artistic intelligentsia has done since April 1985, and we hope that this contribution will increase," M.S. Gorbachev said at the

beginning of the discussion, and the meeting ended with his appeal to literary and artistic figures and representatives of the mass media: "You bear a tremendous responsibility for ensuring that our political line, our course of renewal of society gathers speed, deepens, and yields ever greater results. You bear that responsibility together with us, with the party." The writers were thinking most of all about the responsibility of the literary man and his contribution to the spiritual transformation and renewal of society as they outlined the plan for work to fulfill the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum.

They discussed the content of literary journals on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution and the need to speak aloud, in the spirit of democracy and openness, without yielding to one-sided ideas, and with pride in their people and the people's feat, about the path traveled and about socialism--what tremendous strength is inherent in it, and to draw more attention to the heroic chapters of the history of October. They discussed the special role of current affairs writing, which is called upon more than any other genre to perceive, observe, and support everything new and constructive and to help to really rouse people and uncover their spiritual and moral potential, because it is their thinking, their position which decide the success or failure of the restructuring. They discussed works of prose, poetry, and drama--in order to ensure that hasty responses which add to the stream of mediocrity and time-serving are not printed, it is necessary to promote the emergence of works which interpret reality profoundly, works which are talented, original, and enrich the people's spiritual treasurehouse. The speakers touched on a wide range of topics and problems of the writer's professional participation in society's creative activity, when truthful, intelligent, lofty words become true deeds. The consolidation of literary forces, the standards of debates, international education, the development of national languages and literatures, the significance of the Russian language for intercourse between nations, the attitude to history, writers' participation in the struggle for a nuclear-free world--whatever aspects of the topic "The Writer and Life, the Writer and Restructuring" the speakers touched on, they came back again and again in their thoughts to the recent meeting at the CPSU Central Committee and M.S. Gorbachev's speech.

The plan assigns the main place to organizational and creative work in providing ideological support for the reform. Thus the Council for Essays and Current Affairs is to hold a plenum on "The Tasks of the Country's Current Affairs Writers in Providing Ideological Support for the Introduction of the New Economic Reform." It is planned to organize trips by writers to the All-Union construction projects of the Kursk Magnetic Anomaly, the Baykal-Amur Railroad, Tyumen, the South Yakutia Territorial Production Complex, and so forth, the agricultural regions of the Nonchernozem, the agroindustrial complexes of Siberia, the Far East, and the union republics, and the regions of the Aral Sea and the construction of the Daugavpils GES. The results of the young writers' expedition to regions of the shock construction sites of Siberia and the Far East will be summed up at an All-Union conference on "The Nature of Social Processes in the Conditions of Socioeconomic Acceleration and the Young Writer." Meetings of the capital's current affairs writers with working people at Moscow enterprises will be held under the slogan "Lessons of Leninist Truth." A number of writers will go to the republican, kray, and

oblast newspapers to give practical help on the spot in preparing materials about the progress of the economic reform, the active participants in the restructuring, and those who hamper and retard the process of renewal. Dramatists are to hold a conference on the topic of "The Tasks of the Acceleration of Social Development and the Heroes of Our Plays." There will be an All-Union conference of young poets and composers on "The Contemporary Political Song."

A council of chief editors is being set up under the USSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat, to coordinate and plan the activity of literary-artistic journals and newspapers, and it will hold regular sessions. The USSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat will hear reports from the editorial collegiums of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA and the journal ZNAMYA, and from the Sovetskiy Pisatel Publishing House on its work in the conditions of economic accountability and on preparations for the publication of works propagandizing the Soviet way of life, and will discuss the state of current affairs writing in the Lithuanian literary-artistic journals. Together with the collegiums of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade and the All-Union Copyright Agency, the board secretariat will examine the question of improving artistic literature publications and copyright, and together with the USSR Ministry of Culture, the USSR Composers' Union, and the Melodiya firm it will examine the state of contemporary popular song.

An important place in the activity of the creative union will be occupied by questions of extending democracy, socialist internationalism, and Soviet patriotism. "The Peoples' Friendship Is the Friendship of Literatures"--that is the subject of a forthcoming plenum of the USSR Writers' Union Board. On the threshold of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution there will be an All-Union creative conference on "Great October, Soviet Patriotism, Socialist Internationalism, and Contemporary Literature"; a creative conference on "Revolutionary Traditions and Our Poetry" and visits by teams to the Transcaucasian republics, a plenum of the prose council on "The International and the National--the Lessons of History and the Present Day" (prose from the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan); a plenum of the poetry council on "The Contemporary Poetry of the Ukraine in Russian Translation"; a conference of leaders of Russian-language literary-artistic journals published in the Baltic republics; and a creative conference of dramatists on "The Treatment of Topical Problems of Contemporary Socioeconomic Life in Uzbek Drama." Secretariat sessions will examine questions of the work of the A.M. Gorkiy Institute of World Literature to create a multivolume history of 20th century Russian literature and set up a scientific research center on Soviet literature; and of stepping up the activity of the writers' movement in the struggle for a nuclear-free world and for mankind's survival.

Taking part in the discussion of the work plan were S. Mikhalkov, M. Alekseyev, S. Baruzdin, A. Salynskiy, F. Kuznetsov, V. Telpugov, A. Sofronov, Yu. Bondarev, and Ye. V. Zaytsev, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Culture Department.



The question of improving the propaganda of artistic literature and of the restructuring of the All-Union Bureau for the Propaganda of Artistic Literature was also submitted to this secretariat session. It was noted that an all-Russian and a Moscow bureau are to be set up. The growing role of literature in society's life and the significant place which its propaganda holds in the activity of the USSR Writers' Union demanded a revision of certain established forms and the quest for new, diverse and effective forms. For this necessity to become a reality, the propaganda bureau must seek the closest collaboration with all interested organizations and departments, Soviet Army and Navy political organs, publishing houses, the press, television, and the creative unions. (This, incidentally, was discussed at a session of the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA "roundtable.") Meetings with readers in the course of which propagandization of multinational Soviet literature takes place should be held to a high scientific and aesthetic standard, and it is necessary to guard against colorlessness and mediocrity and the influence of "mass" culture. The spoken word of the writer is particularly heeded today, when the party counts on the help of literary men in restructuring people's consciousness so as to engage people's activeness and commitment in all the processes of our life as we prepare for the 70th anniversary of Great October.

Thus an interdepartmental coordination council is being set up, and it is high time to restructure the propaganda bureau, changing its functions, structure, and staffing. Its material and financial backing must be improved. It is proposed to put in order the rates of authors' honorarium for speeches and for the leadership of literary associations and to increase the funds allocated for assignments, work with young authors, and so forth. In all the union republics and oblast and kray organizations questions of the work of the corresponding propaganda bureaus will be discussed; a program (through 1990) has been drawn up for improving their organizational, material, and financial position, and monitoring of financial activity has been stepped up.

K. Skvortsov, V. Osipov, Yu. Bondarev, A. Voznesenskiy, Ye. Isayev, Ye. Yevtushenko, L. Oshanin, V. Rozov, F. Kuznetsov, Ye. Sidorov, Yu. Gribov, and Yu. Verchenko, speaking at the session, discussing the draft resolution, whether agreeing or disagreeing with some of its provisions, and proposing a whole program for reconstruction (Ye. Yevtushenko), were united in one thing--the need to avoid formalism and ostentation, to involve creative young people more, and to seek to fulfill the goals facing the propaganda of literature not through the number of contributions, but their quality.

A. Sofronov reports on the trip to Tunisia by a delegation of the Soviet Committee for Relations with Writers of Asia and Africa to take part in a session of the editorial collegium of the journal LOTOS.

V. Karpov chaired the extended session of the USSR Writers' Union Board Secretariat.

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CSO: 1800/767

ARTISTS UNION DISCUSSES RESTRUCTURING

PM131059 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Jul 87 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "The Artist Today"]

[Text] Participants in the USSR Union of Artists Board plenum stated their loyalty to the principles of art's party-mindedness and popular spirit and its creative method--socialist realism--which requires innovative application to resolve the restructuring tasks. The plenum was held in Moscow 8 July.

The report presented by Board Chairman N.A. Ponomarev analyzed the union's work recently. He stressed that this work still lacks principledness, exactingness, and genuine concern to develop talent.

Real ways to ensure restructuring in graphic art are to interlink creativity and urgent problems of the time and give new, profound embodiment to the revolutionary ideas and innovative, democratic forms of transforming society in the process of socioeconomic acceleration. This has been apparent to a certain extent in the organization of republic exhibitions in Moscow devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Exhibitions of works by painters and sculptors from the Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Latvia, Kazakhstan, Estonia, Georgia, and Lithuania have convincingly demonstrated the enormous cultural potential and our national art.

Addressing the plenum, V.G. Zakharov, USSR minister of culture, and representatives of the fraternal republics' creative unions discussed the need to further establish a spirit of frankness, efficiency, and constructiveness in artistic life and consolidate all creative forces.

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SOVIET CULTURE FOUNDATION SLOW TO TAKE SHAPE

PM081541 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jul 87 Morning Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Increasing the People's Spiritual Wealth"]

[Text] Moscow--The Soviet Culture Foundation has been in existence for scarcely more than 6 months, but already we can speak about the first positive results of its work. They were summed up 1 July in Moscow by the participants in a session of the board of this social organization.

The foundation is making a significant contribution to multiplying the people's spiritual treasures and increasing their cultural potential, relying on the broad participation of our country's various creative organizations and prominent public figures.

A letter from the CPSU Central Committee general secretary was read out at the Soviet Culture Foundation Presidium [as published] session:

"Dear Comrades!

"I inform you by this letter that I have transferred to the Soviet Culture Foundation's account R50,000 from royalties received on books published abroad.

"I would like to ask you to use this money toward the erection of a monument to Vasilii Terkin on the heroic soil of Smolensk, which will immortalize the heroic deeds of the Soviet soldier during the Great Patriotic War and symbolize our people's profound respect for the illustrious poet and his literary hero.

"With best wishes. M. Gorbachev."

Those present expressed in wholehearted applause their sincere gratitude for the support to the Soviet Culture Foundation's activity.

The Soviet Culture Foundation branches set up in all the union republics, Leningrad, and Moscow have begun implementing the main areas of work. Four programs--"Memory," "Pushkin in the Hearts of the Generations," "Youth and Culture," and "Return"--envisage collecting money to construct monuments; participating in restoring Pushkin memorials and creating new literary reserves associated with the poet's name; introducing young people to the country's cultural life; and returning native cultural property to the homeland.

The foundation relies widely in its works on the noble activity of enthusiasts. However, a report by D. Likhachev, chairman of the Soviet Culture Foundation Board, and speeches by other session participants pointed out that the foundation's aktiv is still only taking shape slowly. Contacts with working collectives are weak. Businesslike links have yet to be established with societies for the preservation of historical and cultural monuments, book lovers' societies and nature conservation bodies. Many questions have arisen in connection with the creation of the foundation's production base, without which this social organization cannot be self-financing.

Measuring its work not by the quantity of measures but by specific vital deeds, the Soviet Culture Foundation is steadfastly developing its practical activity.

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## UZBEK ARTISTS CONGRESS CRITICAL OF LEADERSHIP

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 17 April 1987 carries on page 6 a 2,000-word article by own special correspondent Ashurali Jorayev entitled "We Must be in Harmony with the Times" in which he reports on the proceedings of the 13th Congress of Uzbek Artists. Jorayev states that speakers stressed the shortcomings permitted by the board of the Uzbek Union of Artists in carrying out the restructuring program. Due to the violation of democratic principles factionalism sent down deep roots in its work. In recent years, union leaders were not responsive to criticism and became accustomed to deciding issues themselves rather than opening them up for discussion. This led to various deplorable consequences, including the affair involving the Uzbek SSR Artistic Fund. Other speakers said that the blame should not be attributed to union leaders alone, for some artists, in the name of democracy, are given to demagoguery and looking out for their own interests. Sculptor S. Qodirov commented that ideological workers in the field of art do not know the subject very well and thus harm creativity by issuing incorrect directives. He expresses the hope that the field will not return to its former regrettable conditions. The artist Ch. Ahmarov states that along with sharp criticism and lively exchanges at the congress some participants spoke with petty and slanderous words and tried to paint the work of the union with black strokes: "Basically, this is incorrect. We must also view its positive sides. Criticism must be fair and correct, and democracy must not be abused. We must extirpate factionalism, the most dangerous ill. Only thus can we create a truly positive atmosphere."

## AFGHAN UZBEK LITERARY NEWSPAPER REVIEWED

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN"ATI in Uzbek on 24 April 1987 carries on page 7 a 1,100-word article by Candidate of Philology Anvar Ismoilov entitled "On the Pages of YULDUZ" in which he reviews the coverage of YULDUZ, the Uzbek language newspaper published in Afghanistan for the Uzbeks living in that country. Because it is the only press organ in Uzbek it tries to cover changes in political, economic, and cultural life, and also to keep its readers familiar with the works of over 100 poets who write in Uzbek. Prior to the April Revolution these poets lacked a press forum and had to distribute their works in manuscript form. The newspaper's editorial office keeps in close touch with literary circles formed in Kabul and other cities, and provides regular coverage of their activities. It also prints materials dealing with specific topics in revolutionary poetry and with themes of classical Uzbek literature. Some articles provide

information on the life and works of great classical poets like Alisher Navoi Lutfi, and Babur, while special rubrics are devoted to publishing excerpts of their works, examples of specific genres of poetry, and collections of proverbs and folk sayings.

YULDUZ also covers problems of the Uzbek language. The literary language in Afghanistan is still not fully formed or standardized, so the newspaper print lists of Uzbek words annotated in Dari and a section containing spellings of various Uzbek words. Ismoilov points out that an Uzbek language and literature section has been opened in the Department of Philology at Kabul University for the purpose of training teachers for Uzbek schools. The newspaper provides frequent coverage of events in the cultural life in Soviet Uzbekistan and prints excerpts by Soviet Uzbek writers, as well as scholarly articles on various topics of republic language and literature. Since 6 July 1986 YULDUZ has appeared twice weekly, an indication of its growing influence among readers.

#### UZBEK WRITER COMMENTS ON TRIP TO VIETNAM

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 24 April 1987 carries on page 7 a 500-word newspaper interview with Khayriddin Sultonov entitled "Our Fraternity is Firm" in which he comments on his trip to Vietnam as a member of a Soviet delegation consisting of four people: Ilya Fonyakov, the Leningrad editor of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA; Moscow writer Yuriy Tarskiy; Nikolay Lukiv, chief editor of the journal DNIPRO; and himself. For 21 days they toured the republic to become familiar with the life of the Vietnamese people, talk with Soviet specialists who are working in various fields there, and meet and exchange ideas with Vietnamese writers. Their route took them from Hanoi to Ho Chi Minh City, from the textile center in Namdin to the port city of Danang, and from Hue and its ancient monuments to the city of Vungtau. Sultonov states that Soviet interest in Vietnamese literature is evident by the publication of the series "Library of Vietnamese Literature" by the Khudozhestvennaya Literatura Publishing house. At the same time during his trip he learned that the Vietnamese have a great affection for Soviet literature through the translation of various works of famous Soviet writers. The Vietnamese also know Uzbek literature well. The poetry of Alisher Navoi has been printed and the works of Zulfiya, Asqad Mukhtor, Rahmat Fayziy, and Sarvar Azimov are known to Vietnamese readers. During his trip he learned that translations of Pirimgul Qodirov's novel "Diamond Pool" and Vilyam Aleksandrov's stories are being prepared for publication.

#### VIETNAMESE WRITERS VISIT UZBEKISTAN

[Editorial Report] Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek on 10 April 1987 carries on page 7 a 200-word item entitled "Vietnamese Writers in Uzbekistan" which reports that a group of Vietnamese writers, including Professor Fonge Le and writers Chan Kong Tan, Nguen Khak Fe, and Chan Viet Lin toured noteworthy sites in Tashkent and Samarkand, and met with Uzbek writers at the Writers Union on 7 April where they shared their impressions of the republic and proposed that more translations of Uzbek and Vietnamese writers be made. Uzbek writers Abdulla Oripov, Turob Tola, Jumaniyoz Jabborov, and Khayriddin Sultonov took part in the meeting.

## RESTORATION OF MAJOR TURKMEN MAUSOLEUM NEGLECTED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 22 May 1987 carries on page 3 an 1100-word article by G. Bayramov headlined "Let Us Protect Historical Monuments" on the Turkmen Ministry of Culture's failure to restore the 12th-century mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar, one of the most important monuments in Central Asia. Pointing out that a state archeological expedition had recommended its restoration 64 years ago, he notes that work began only in 1976. "Although years have gone by since then, one can say that virtually no work has been done in restoring it." He blames the specialized scientific restoration production atelier of the Turkmen Ministry of Culture in Ashkhabad, claiming that "its workers are not deeply interested in the mausoleum's situation." Some officials have claimed that no one has been able to replicate the kind of bricks needed for the work.

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#### DRUG-RELATED CRIME RISING IN TURKMENIA

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 17 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 1700-word interview with V.M. Vailyuk TuSSR Procurator, on drug use in Turkmenia headlined "Citizens Must Have an Active Life Position." He claims that "in the last 5 years crimes related to drug use have been constantly increasing." He adds that "when asking at what age drug use begins in the republic, it became clear that some 19 percent of the users began as teenagers" and that "last year a significant portion of the crimes committed by teenagers were drug-related." Noting that the growing of narcotic substances is strictly forbidden, he found that many private plot holders were doing so anyway, and claimed that "in Ashkhabad, Mary, and Tashauz Oblasts it was more than in preceding years." Twenty-four thousand square meters of these crops were destroyed by internal affairs organs last year.

#### TURKMEN KOMSOMOL INTENSIFIES ANTIDRUG CAMPAIGN

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 30 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 1200-word article by O. Orazgulyyev, secretary of the Turkmen Komsomol, headlined "If Measures Are Only Formal..." on the need to intensify the Komsomol campaign against narcotics. He points out that a joint operation of internal affairs and health organs conducted last year turned up 18 Komsomol members who were drug users, 11 of whom were expelled from the Komsomol. He claims that the problem is that "in some cases higher Komsomol organizations limit themselves to demanding protocols from primary organizations. Because there is no thorough, consistent control by higher organizations, primary organizations tend to leave their measures on paper. This is very dangerous." He adds that "for this reason, the number of drug users among students in schools and professional-technical institutes is still not dropping. It would be relevant to bring up one fact: every other teenager who commits a crime is a student at a school or technical institute. The number of these students is especially high in Ashkhabad Oblast, and no less in Kraenovodsk and Tashauz Oblasts."

#### TASHKENT-MARY-ASHKhabAD DRUG RING SMASHED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 10 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 500-word article by D. Berdiyev, chairman of the Peoples' Court in Mary City, headlined "They Got What They Deserved" on the smashing



of a nine-member drug ring which had been engaged in smuggling goknar [an opium derivative] via air between Tashkent, Mary, and Ashkhabad. Those arrested were of varying nationalities and both sexes. The court was able to determine that 280 kilograms of the substance were brought to Mary over a 4-and-1/2-month period. Sentences ranged from 4 to 13 years.

#### TURKMEN LANGUAGE TEXTS CRITICIZED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 13 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 1300-word article by A. Akbabayev, a methodologist-teacher at the Murgah No 17 secondary school, criticizing texts used in teaching Turkmen language and literature courses; the article is headlined "An Urgent Question of the Day." He points out that "the Turkmen language knowledge of today's students is unsatisfactory. The level of their vocabulary, speech and written composition is low." He maintains that one of the reasons for this is that the quality of textbooks for Turkmen language and literature satisfies neither teachers nor students because "the text of many of the exercises in the books is antiquated and of weak educational significance. The text of some of the exercises contain shaky ideas."

#### RUSSIAN LANGUAGE TEXT FOR REPUBLIC LAWYERS PUBLISHED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 6 May 1987 carries on page 4 a 1200-word review by B. Atayev, Russian teacher at the M. Gorkiy Turkmen State University, and A. Orazdurdyev, senior teacher at the university and candidate in juridical science, of the Russian language textbook "Prakticheskiy kurs russkogo yazyka dlya yuristov" [Practical Course in Russian for Lawyers] (Kazan, 1986) by T. V. Gubayeva; the review is headlined "A Book for Jurists." "The book's objective consists of providing the needed knowledge of the fundamentals of Russian, especially to demonstrate the specifics of the language in juridical textbooks." The reviewers claim that the book is directed at graduates of "national schools."

#### TURKMEN EDUCATION MANAGERS ACCUSED OF 'BUREAUCRATISM'

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 21 May 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "Teachers' Congress" timed to the beginning of the Ninth Congress of Turkmen Teachers. "Basic shortcomings in the work of management organs of education and professional-technical learning, and the slow implementation of the reconstruction of their work style and methods, are significantly impeding the movement of schools in the direction of qualitatively good indicators. Bureaucratism, paperwork, superficial analysis and the weakness of inspection controls have made it impossible to increase the responsibility of teachers for the end results of their work to management organs, to gain an improvement in the study-educational process, or to prepare the youth for an independent life and work."

#### QUALITY OF TURKMEN TEACHERS CRITICIZED BY EDUCATION MINISTER

[Editorial Report:] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 22 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 1000-word article by M. Alyyeva, TuSSR minister of education, headlined "We Must Overcome Weakness and Formalism." She asserts that "we are not closing our eyes to the shortcomings which are blocking restructuring" and adds that "teachers' collectives at some schools are still viewing reforms with indifference. School inspectors, methodologists and scientific workers have participated in thousands of classes. More than half of these received unsatisfactory ratings. The fact that some teachers are not trying to increase the effectiveness of their work is disturbing. If a teacher receives an unsatisfactory rating for teaching, then how does one evaluate the knowledge a student receives from such a teacher?"

#### TURKMEN EDUCATION MINISTER CLAIMS SHORTAGE OF SCHOOLS

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 15 May 1987 carries on page 1 a 1700-word article by M. Alyyeva, TuSSR minister of education, headlined "Clear Duties." She points out that "it does not depend on educators alone to correct some of the continuing shortcomings [in school reform]. The study materials base at schools is still being enriched too slowly. Many schools have a shortage of classrooms; in some classrooms there are 40 or more students. The present situation in school building construction raises great doubts whether this question will be satisfactorily resolved in the near future. Local party organizations and Soviet organs must be deeply concerned about bringing about a basic change in school building construction. Without enough school buildings, it is impossible to talk about implementing school reform."

#### TUSSR: UNSANITARY PRACTICES LEAD TO SPREAD OF DISEASE

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 6 May 1987 carries on page 1 a 900-word lead editorial stressing the importance of maintaining high standards of hygiene and cleanliness, especially in schools; the editorial is headlined "A Primary Necessity." It points out that "each of us must understand that even the slightest misinterpretation of cleanliness demands in a city, rayon, or village could lead to unsatisfactory consequences. Because the demands of cleanliness were not followed in some rayons of Tashauz Oblast, this led to the spread of contagious diseases. Only as a result of a major effort by physicians was this stopped." It adds that unsanitary conditions in certain school cafeterias and buffets in Kaka and Khalach Rayons should "never be the normal situation."

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# NEBITDAG FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS HIGHLIGHTED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 11 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 400-word article by J. Khanmammedov on the anti-drug campaign being waged in Nebitdag city and its environs by the city department of internal affairs. "In 1986 9 people were sent for corrective labor and 3 were placed in the republic narcological hospital." Although intensified efforts are being made to teach the population about the dangers of drug addiction, he points out that "there are still mistakes and shortcomings in this work. While there are but few instances of using or selling drugs, they do occur. It is not that there is no one who, unable to find drugs, buys addictive drugs at pharmacies. Some directors of these pharmacies exploit this situation and sell these medicines at a high price."

# TUSSR: FORBIDDEN TYPES OF INDIVIDUAL LABOR OUTLINED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 30 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1200-word interview with K. Burbanov, senior consultant to the Turkmen Ministry of Justice, headlined "While the Work Is Individual, the Interests are Common" on implications of the law on individual labor. Asked "what kinds of individual labor are prohibited," he answered that these include "the construction and repair of weapons, the preparation of poisonous and narcotic substances, and the maintenance or construction of buildings for playing dangerous games." He added that "certain kinds" of medical practice are also forbidden, as is work with precious metals and stones.

# TURKMEN WOMAN QUESTIONS CAMPAIGN AGAINST BRIDE PRICE

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 16 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 400-word letter to the editor by Z. Annasakhedova, a hero mother from Sakarchage Rayon, headlined "Bride Price Reduces Honor" in which she discusses some problems in the campaign against bride price. "Why are we unable to rid ourselves to the practice of paying bride price? Because people say one thing and do another. These actions are pure hypocrisy." She adds that in meetings directed against the bride price "some people seek to blame only the girls. Is this right? Perhaps to a certain extent. But mothers are to blame also. No matter how much they love their children, they forget everything at the moment of decision. Thoughts about the future of the girl and boy, their life together fall into the vortex of the desire for money and possessions."

#### TURKMEN TEACHERS TO FILL OUT QUESTIONNAIRE

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 15 April 1987 carries on page 1 an 800-word questionnaire and explanation of it by O. Meretkulyyev, Turkmen language and literature teacher, on a series of questions designed by MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI to be answered by education workers. There are six basic questions: what kind of leading worker is needed in education and what is his role in reconstruction; what sort of work should be done with young cadres; how does one guarantee openness in attracting cadres to work of greater responsibility; is good work being done to increase the expertise of cadres; what is being done by teachers to improve the moral-psychological atmosphere in the collective; and what can be done to improve job effectiveness.

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MOONSHINE, RELATED CRIME ON RISE IN IRKUTSK OBLAST

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 Mar 87 p 4

[Article by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent S. Karkhanin: "Rivers of Moonshine in a 'Temperance' Zone: The Number of Moonshine Producers in Irkutsk Oblast Continues to Rise"]

[Text] Irkutsk Oblast--"At Osinskiy Rayon's Shabortu timber logging district lift operators Molev and Gritskiv had a quarrel. After a while, a fight ensued; one of them had a shotgun, and the outcome was murder. The investigation found both were drunk: before the quarrel they had drunk homemade beer." (From the papers of the Irkutsk Internal Affairs Department.)

The restrictions on the sale of alcoholic beverages, introduced within the framework of the anti-alcohol law, have had an unquestionable effect of reducing the availability of vodka and stronger varieties of wines to consumers. The goal of a moonshine brewer is the opposite--to broaden that availability as much as possible. At any time, day or night, he is ready to take a sip from the bottle himself, to treat his buddies, or to sell it; gladly he treats members of his own household, including children.

A familiar evil appears somehow smaller than it really is. While so-called store-bought liquor has been universally condemned, moonshine--especially, homemade beer--often slips outside the scope of the anti-alcohol campaign. Angry words about homemade brews are seldom heard at village gatherings or at a meeting of local soviets' deputy commissions. As though at home a person is somehow exempt from the requirements of the law.

And so he brews and brews, thanks to the light-hearted attitude of his neighbors. He also makes a profit from the fact that alcohol is in short supply, turning yeast and sugar into solid gold. In and around Irkutsk, one out of five moonshine makers profited from his activities. These two crimes go hand-in-hand, as it is easy to see.

"In the town of Tulun, at No 8 on Blyukher Street, the bodies of Medvedskaya and Kuzmina were found. On the same day, Kuzmina's children--Olya, age 4, and Vasya, age 2--were brought to the district hospital. They were diagnosed as suffering from acute poisoning. Remnants of homemade beer were found at the scene." (From the papers of the Internal Affairs Department.)

With the help of the papers from the information center of the Internal Affairs Department, which analyzed all the data, a profile of today's typical moonshine maker has been created. The conclusion is stunning. It turns out that she is a relatively young woman, usually working outside the home, a mother--a rather typical worker who never before has done anything unlawful and has therefore not attracted the suspicions of the militia or social organizations.

The correctness of the statistical profile is confirmed by the example one O. Dunayeva, age 33, supervisor at the Osinsk bakery. She stole from work 5 kilos of yeast to lower the costs of producing the brew. She thought, in fact, that there was no crime in such "cooking"... Legal ignorance, of course, is no excuse. Many people nevertheless expect that this misconception will be the basis for leniency toward them, as though they were caught at some mischief, not criminal activity. This group, as has been established by an oblast-wide preventive operation, includes party card holders and even people's deputies.

Experience points to another pattern. Moonshine is most frequently produced where the infamous "alcohol coupons" have been introduced, a practice that has already been extensively criticized. Those who have used up their rations, it turns out, need not worry where to get more: stores of liquor are available at home, at their disposal.

Accompanied by Senior Inspector A. Ilyina from the Irkutsk Rayon Internal Affairs Department, I traveled to the Baikal sovkhos where five cases against moonshine producers had been brought to trial in the preceding 6 months. Here is the home of milkmaid L. Yaroshchuk. The district inspector had repeatedly found bottles of brew in her house. The court sentenced her to pay 20 percent of her salary to the government treasury for 2 years.

"How did it happen, with the brew?" The hostess lowers her eyes. "Yes, I did make 40 liters in memory of my husband." (The husband's death occurred as a direct result of chronic alcoholism.) "The district inspector was away at the time. I thought it would be alright..." Suddenly, she gets angry. "So what, am I the only one that brews that stuff?"

"Ludmila, don't drag others into it--answer for yourself." She was interrupted by Zaykov, Revyakino village soviet chairman, who had come with us. Before that, he had been arguing that everything was going well in the district for which the village soviet is responsible, that all "campaigns" were being implemented. As to the five criminal cases, things in other villages were in his opinion, going even worse.

What is the difference, then, between the chairman's arguments and the moonshine producer's?

Incidentally, one of the "campaigns" had been a village gathering which declared Revyakino a temperance zone.

What do the organizers of the oblast-wide preventive operation, the one that has given cause for so much concern, think about all this?

"In Irkutsk the operation began sluggishly. Only after the meeting of the party economic activists, a meeting that severely criticized Oktyabrskiy and Leninskiy rayons, which had been especially passive, things started to move," said M. Proshkevich, director of the Internal Affairs Department's Anti-Alcohol Law Implementation Division. "In general, I don't think that in recent years there has been an increase in the number of moonshine producers. It's just that we, the militia, search for them more intensively, so the numbers add up... But the help we get from local soviets and from anti-drinking commissions has been insufficient. Here, on the other hand, we have been getting on pretty well."

This is the opinion of L. Sosnina, secretary of the Oblast Anti-Alcohol Commission:

"I think that the increase in the numbers is caused by the intensification of the struggle against moonshine producers, but the militia could conduct more preventive operations..."

It turns out, then, that there is no reason to sound alarm, to join efforts in building a dam against the moonshine river, right? Here, however, are the figures: in 1986, the number of moonshine makers in the oblast doubled--around 3,000 were caught and almost 55,000 liters of homemade liquor were seized. Here are the results of this year's preventive operations: 800 offenders caught and 10,000 liters seized. In other words, a quarter of all the work done in 1986 was accomplished in just 20 days.

"Only one out of six collective farmers is a temperance society member in Ekhirit-Bulagatskiy, Bokhanskiy, and Alarskiy rayons. The papers of the Nizhneudinsk and alcohol commission did not mention moonshine production at all in the course of an entire year, even though in the town and the rayon 152 home "distilleries" were discovered. The number of drinking bouts at the workplace are increasing in the oblast, and the problem of workplace discipline remains acute." (From the papers of the Oblast Anti-Alcohol Commission.)

What can be added here? It seems that the Irkutsk oblispolkom should think about an effective--let us emphasize the word effective--program to combat moonshine making. Light-hearted attitudes and leniency, which are still seen in relation to this phenomenon, may turn in the near future into much more serious losses than can be supposed.

12892/9599  
CSO: 1830/560

RIGA DEMONSTRATION 'NOT PURELY ANTI-SOVIET'

PM071639 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 30 Jun 87 p 8

[Article by special correspondents E. Govorushko and A. Kamenev: "In the Shadow of the Monument"]

[Text] This monument, many meters high, stands in the very center of Riga. A woman rises above the city on the white stone column. In her raised hands she holds three five-pointed stars, symbolizing the three ethnographical areas of Latvia--Kurzeme, Vidzeme, and Latgale. This is the Freedom Monument. There it is--you can see it and feel it, as they say. It is there, and yet... it isn't.

For many years the monument and everything connected with it have been simply passed over in silence. They say that the foundation was laid and the monument erected in the early thirties, under the pro-fascist bourgeois regime, and indeed the slogan "Fatherland and Freedom" carved on the base is open to question. Apparently the monument's history was also unknown, and apparently only a nationalist thrust could be discerned in the allegorical bas-reliefs on the base and the plinth. Is this really so?

Riga's chief architect and Lenin prizewinner Gunar Asaris told us about the history and the building of the Freedom Monument and about its symbolism.

...In April 1918 the Decree on Monumental Propaganda was adopted on V.I. Lenin's initiative. It acted also as an appeal to the artists of the young Soviet Latvia to draw up plans in 1919 for monuments to the dead communards. The young Latvian sculptor Karlis Zale, then living in Petrograd, was one of the first to engage in this work. The monuments he created to N. Dobrolyubov and G. Garibaldi were highly valued by A.V. Lunacharskiy. It was intended to erect the multifigure allegorical composition, with a communist in the center sculpted by K. Zale, in Riga. However, the late 1919 counterrevolution was victorious in Latvia.

At that time it was rare to find a Latvian family that was not mourning the death of a relative--father, husband, son, or brother--in the world war. The events of the 1905 Revolution were also fresh in the people's memory. Later, following October, hundreds of men of the Lettish Red Rifles--those true internationalists--laid down their lives on the Civil War fronts and in battles against the counterrevolutionary underground. Much of the people's blood was also spilled in Latvia in fighting against the Bermont-Avalov gangs.



In this connection Latvia's bourgeois government was forced to discuss the question of erecting a "memorial column" to the dead servicemen. Several plans were discussed. Finally, in 1931 the version by Karlis Zale was approved. The architectural part of the monument was elaborated by the architect E. Shtalbergs, who later--after the restoration of Soviet power in Latvia--became director of the Academy of Sciences Institute of Construction and Architecture and an honored scientist of the Latvian SSR.

The authors managed to embody the striving for freedom of the Latvian people--after languishing for centuries in slavery--and their struggle against the German barons and tsarist autocracy. Being true patriots, they reflected in their work the people's heroism and courage against the oppressors and for genuine freedom and social equality. The democratic thrust of the monument is also evidenced by the groups--Labor, Science, Family, and Defense--placed around its sides. A sword and shield are directed toward the Teutonic West, while the glances of the heroes severing the fetters of slavery are directed toward the Slavonic East.

This version of the Freedom Monument attests that the sculptor followed the creative path on which he embarked during the early years of the revolution.

So this monument rises in the center of Riga. And this monument was shrouded in silence and virtually "removed" from the cultural, social, and political life of Soviet Latvia and its capital. It has long been said in the republic that it was time, so to say, to grant it citizenship so that it can rightfully serve the cause of Freedom, Equality, and Brotherhood in the same way as the memorial complex in Riga's Fraternal Cemetery--the summit of Karlis Zale's creativity--and the memorial to the Lettish Red Pifles serve the cause of Memory.

But still the discussion went on... No, not for nothing did the poet observe: "Hearts which we do not occupy ourselves will be occupied by our enemy without delay." At the very least he will make the attempt. Something similar actually happened in Riga one Sunday in June.

Heeding the "reports" of various hostile radio stations--primarily Radio Free Europe and VOX--a few dozen citizens organized a procession and laid flowers at the base of the Freedom Monument. As the initiators and organizers of this action explained, its aim was to honor the memory of the "14 June victims."

What day was that? Some 46 years ago, 8 days before the perfidious attack by Hitler's Germany, several thousand people were transported from Latvia into the country's interior. This measure was preventive in nature and was directed primarily against profascist officers of the former Latvian army, the ayzsargi (self-defense detachments created on the model of the Hitlerite storm troopers), agents of the former political secret police, and members of the fascist "Cross of Perkuns" organization. During the year since the restoration of Soviet power in Latvia the latter had been able to unite and--acting illegally--become essentially a "fifth column" of fascist Berlin. White Russian emigres were also in its ranks.

Incidentally, one in four of those displaced were not of Latvian nationality. Historians investigating the events of the cult of personality period explained that some innocent people suffered among the deportees. They were loyally disposed to Soviet power but erroneously numbered among its potential enemies. They were subsequently rehabilitated. Some, alas, posthumously. But many returned to their native areas as full Soviet citizens.

There is no denying that it is not easy to admit mistakes. Neither for an individual, nor for a society. Especially if the admission is public. And though the 20th CPSU Congress gave an unequivocal appraisal of the events of the cult of personality period, it would appear that until recently it was somehow not acceptable to speak about them out loud. Nor was it acceptable to publicly express grief about those who were repressed and deported without just cause.

The historian and philosopher Andris Rubenis, lecturer in the republic Academy of Arts Marxism-Leninism Department, told us:

"Today we bitterly regret the tragic mistakes committed in the past. We regret that we indulged tyranny, remained silent about shortcomings, and said one thing while doing another. Indeed, the curtain has still by no means been raised on everything even now. Even today you still come across 'areas of silence.'"

"And I think that, if we wish to purge our history of distortions and omissions and if we want social justice, then we need the whole truth about the past and the present and not an imitation of the truth. Otherwise we provide the opportunity for all kinds of 'figures' to profit by our omissions and to fill up the 'blank spaces' in their own way. Which, strictly speaking, is what happened. But, if you think about it, it was nothing terrible: People were honoring the memory of their nearest and dearest..."

"Only it is bad that people with no moral right to touch it attempted to exploit this altogether sacred matter," People's Artist of the Latvian SSR Kharis Lepinsh said, sharing his views with us. "I witnessed how an attempt was made to play on the feelings of those present, whose numbers certainly cannot be put at thousands as certain radio stations allege. You cannot speculate on people's innermost feelings and foist on them a cheap 'show' in the form of nationalist demands and foolhardy appeals. In the republic the period which these patrons are now recalling was a period of historical crises. However, everything happened rather severely and there were errors in the authorities' policy. But most frequently it was not these errors but the incorrect actions of individuals which compromised the policy being carried out at the time. On the one hand, I believe, we must not smooth over what happened, but on the other we must not see it purely as an anti-Soviet action."

And that is precisely how provocateurs in the West and certain nationalist elements in the republic, who speciously call themselves the 'Helsinki-86' group, would like to present it.

...That day a cycling festival had been in progress since the morning on Riga's central street. Its participants laid flowers at the monument to those who fought for the people's freedom. Hundreds and thousands of people, attracted by the fine sight of the festival, did not disperse after it ended but waited for the procession. There were many people in the crowd who were simply curious. There were also many who genuinely wished to honor the memory of their relatives and acquaintances. By no means all of either group realized that an action was being organized by nationalistically minded people. Many people sincerely believed that it was being held in accordance with a decision by local or even higher bodies. They had grounds for doing so.

We are looking more closely at the history of our state and society and are trying to assess all events--however bitter they may sometimes be--objectively and competently. But we need time. However, we are being pressed by those who are not averse to arming themselves with the errors of the past, profiting from the democratization of society, and making that process more difficult, or else turning it back by fueling that same anti-Sovietism. Indeed, the methods are not new--fanning nationalism in the union republics. And it was this that prompted those who unfurled the banner and led the procession to the Freedom Monument--Roland Silaraups and Iyeva Biteniyetse, two quite young people in Latvian national costume.

And so it happened that the long-time "illegitimacy" of the Freedom Monument and the erroneous silencing of facts of the country's history made it possible for this little group--with prompting from foreign "stations" (just a few weeks before this they reported a forthcoming "act of protest against the Sovietization of Latvia")--to play on the feelings of some people. It was as if they and their patrons wanted the organs of Soviet power to use repressive measures and ban them from approaching the Freedom Monument and laying flowers. The emigre leaders were counting on this. This would have given them the opportunity to hold forth even more loudly.

Nothing happened! Although there was an attempt to provoke a scandal. Long after midnight a group of youths organized a real orgy at the monument. Eleven people were detained and sent home after half an hour. Who incited them?

"I was not there," R. Silaraups told us, "but I knew about it. I was kept in constant touch by telephone..."

He let this out; of course, by accident, but nonetheless showed his complicity.

Despite his youth, Silaraups is already known in emigre circles. At 21 he is already virtually a fully-fledged nationalist. Last spring he was pardoned and released from serving his time for anti-Soviet activity. And he calls the action that was held merely a "peaceful demonstration." But he maintains contacts with emigre circles and also with Radio Free Europe. He would like to be the leader of the opposition that allegedly exists.

These people were described very accurately by Genrikas Yashkunas--a "dissident with a service record" as he described himself--who lives in

Lithuania. He, like Silaraups, was recently pardoned and released. This is his testimony, published by the Lithuanian republic newspaper TIESA:

"...Dissidence as a social phenomenon, as a more or less single current does not exist at all and has no positive program. Its typical features are personal ambition, disputes, and fights. ...An absolute majority of dissidents are totally indifferent to the national interests of their peoples, whether they be Lithuanians, Ukrainians, or Estonians. They are not concerned about the well-being or freedom of their fellow-countrymen but about a thirst for power. Even in places of detention they fight desperately for power in the future 'free fatherland'--for the posts of hetmans, ministers, presidents..." And he continues: "The most important thing in the lives of these rogues is to become famous in the West, build up political capital, and use the opportunity to beat it to the West."

Yashkunas knows what he's talking about: He moved in dissident circles for nigh on 40 years. He is now 60 and regrets the years spent not for the good but to the detriment of his people.

Roland Silaraups so far does not advertise his aspiration to be leader. Either he does not wish to assume all the responsibility, or he is rather afraid of his older and more experienced colleagues. In conversation with us, he stressed more than once that "they meet and any question is put to the vote." There is total democracy, he says. But when asked directly about his links with the West he stated, just bluntly:

"No comment."

Apparently, he does not want to advertise.

We will not start to exaggerate either. But nor is it worth minimizing things. Some very accurate comments were made on this score by movie director Yuris Podniyeks, author of the film "Is It Easy to Be Young?" He is well aware of the concerns of the rising generation and the problems of national relations.

"We need the whole truth both in facts and in appraisals. We must stop being afraid that the unwonted may pose a real threat to our system and to Soviet power. It is time we stopped seeing what are still to us unwonted phenomena as something against which we must take administrative measures without fail. Provided, of course, there are no violations of public order and no conflicts with the foundations of socialism and the people's interests in these phenomena. But, in my view, the actions of the organizers of this 'peaceful demonstration' are nothing but an attempt to jump on the bandwagon of the democratization process taking place in the country and overt speculation on people's sincerest feelings."

In the period since 14 June the Latvian republic press has carried articles describing the events that occurred and the historical facts which engendered them, as well as articles analyzing the processes taking place in society. This, for example, is what the papers have been saying during this period:



"...By expanding democracy we can realize more fully the historic plans of our party--we can be more radical in restructuring and the revolutionary renewal of our society." This is a correct conclusion. Just as the appraisal of the escapade by a handful of "activists" is correct: It "has nothing to do with the vital interests, aspirations, concerns, and affairs of the Latvian people."

"They need to work," is what 55-year old kolkhoz member Yuliy Shleyens, holder of the Order of the October Revolution, told us. "Those who organized this demonstration are no doubt simply idle or sick people, if they think seriously about the return of former 'freedoms.' I have told my own sons so."

And it is difficult to add anything to this.

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CSO: 1800/768

'CHALLENGE' TO 'POLITICAL COMBAT' HURLED AT RIGA DEMONSTRATORS

Riga CINA in Latvian 17 Jun 87 p 4

[Text] A challenge has been hurled--it must be accepted!

In order that the next slaughter of the peoples of the world could begin, three things are required. Mountains of weapons are required. Societies of the world have not done well in food production, but there are sufficient weapons to kill everybody five times over. In addition, a generation is required which would have grown up under peace-time conditions and would not be conscious of what war is in contrast to what is being offered by films saturated with eroticism. Such a generation has matured; it already writes on lavatory walls and on seats of means of transportation the terrible words: "Death!" and "Let us kill!" Apart from that, a fit of insanity of the masses is required, which has different names: revanchism, chauvinism. Now the most vile forces of imperialism occupy themselves with the sowing of bacilli of this insanity. The Latvian reactionary emigration has become an organic part of this, and with the aid of [Radio] "Free Europe" are searching for their sympathizers in Soviet Latvia. The events of 14th of June showed that they are also finding some small handfuls. With this, a challenge has been hurled at the voice of reason, at those responsible for the destiny of our small nation.

In the area where I spent my childhood, in the neighbourhood of Eglaine, as many families as I remember there, none of them were deported in 1941. It was a tiny kingdom of modesty, illiteracy and religious fanaticism. All of that is vivid in my memory--how that circumstance was made use of by the inspirers of the last World War and maintainers of people's insanity. Albums were sent to the homes where there was some literate person, free of charge--to be a documentary collection about the "atrocities of the Reds" settling their scores with clergymen and catholic priests. I remember divine services of mourning at the Eglaine Catholic parish church, where sermons with a mixture of chauvinism and the word of God were heard. I remember films on fascism fabricated by the film industry which were frequently shown at people's homes in order to inspire a consciousness of "Red terror" horror. And the planting of remembrance grooves on the outskirts of the settlement. The assiduity of fascist propaganda was rewarded. In many farmer families, which previously lived with great modesty, the men put on uniforms of a *sucmanis* (FBIS: from "Schutzmann" - policeman during the German occupation) with a red-white-red (FBIS: Latvian national colours) armband on the sleeve and joined in the

genocide actions of the invaders, became members of German legions and perished or were lost. But the mothers and wives remaining at home, collapsing after evening prayers in the pain of despair on the pillows of empty marital beds. These tears of despair and pain have not yet been paid back; more than that--the need for this retribution had already been forgotten. Now the dregs of the reactionary emigration are again sowing the bacilli of insanity. They incite the pain of memory of the people in order to arouse a new hatred in people. Their supporters in Soviet Latvia have already come out on the streets of Riga, hoping for our indulgence and sleepiness. And there was nobody who could have spat into the faces of these traitors, for the national interests of our people, and could have reminded them that there already were those moments of remembrance, only at that time, they were organized by the fascist machine, blinding the consciousness of people--the same forces which a few years earlier stuck a dagger into the back of the independence of bourgeois Latvia.

The challenge must be accepted. Therefore I am appealing to scientists, writers and cultural workers to unite in a club of like-minded persons and to take up a stand guarding our small nation's future destiny. Let us invite those supporters of the reactionary wing of emigration to a fierce political close combat, let us clean off the rust of oblivion from the sword of lessons of the past, in order to turn it against the carriers of the threatening disease of the insanity of the masses. Let us follow the treacherous actions abroad against the interests of the people and their voices of poison on the air, in order to meet similar instances in the future in an organized and armed manner. Also in ideological combat, cannon shots must be responded to with cannons. There are no other possibilities.

J. Zelonka,  
candidate of sciences  
of economics.

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CSO: 1808/036

PAPER DECRIES 'POLITICAL INFANTILISM' OF LATVIAN DEMONSTRATORS

Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian 16 Jun 87 p 2]

(MN: at the bottom of a sports half-page, next to a description of a cycling race under the title of "Festival on wheels" and below three photographs--two of cycling races in progress, one with a flower presentation scene to cycling celebrities at the Monument of Freedom,--after three asterisks, without a title, the following:)

[Text] New traditions enter our life, our undertakings in the event of a festival grow more massive in scale and become more democratic; more realistic and open is the approach for both throwing light upon questions in the past and viewing problems of the present day. But also something else must be stated--some persons who make a desperate effort to utilize democratism and openness for selfish, not infrequently even antisocial purposes have become more active.

Thus, last Sunday evening, several persons exerted themselves to get to the centre of attention at any cost, in order to pass the obtained "publicity" further, not without a personal interest, for the disposal of the 'greedy-for-sensations' propaganda of the West. It is true, some demagogic slogans and attempts "to curry favour" with the new course of life perhaps does not yet lead to a presumption of a juridical punishment, but, nevertheless, at least to a moral condemnation. The political infantilism of some of our fellow citizens is astonishing; citizens who, for the sake of satisfying their human curiosity and a misunderstood bravery, perhaps even themselves not being adequately aware of it, were in fact willing to become pawns, puppets in an entirely alien and also in a dirty game.

Time makes everything even, and this time also it will separate the chaff from the grain. A feeling of the newly mastered festival will remain with the participants at the festival (FBIS: the cycling festival). They laid flowers at the foot of the Monument of Freedom, remembering the centuries-long struggle of the people for their social and national liberation, remembering also that October day of 1944 when the No. 130 corps of Latvian riflemen marched into Riga, liberated from Hitlerite invaders, past the Monument of Freedom, greeting the leaders of the CP of Latvia and of the republic's government. In that way, those who later placed flowers "with a special meaning" at the foot of the monument are again sinning against the



historical truth and are exerting themselves in vain to interpret it tendentiously and one-sidedly. It must be a reminder to those who do not wish to understand this, that whatever some persons or even the entire propaganda of the West would endeavour, they will not succeed in darkening our patriotic, internationalist feelings and our determination to continue a renewal of the spheres of our entire lives.

/9716

CSO: 1808/035

LETTER-WRITER COMMENTS ON RIGA DEMONSTRATION

Riga PADOMJU JAUNATNE in Latvian 18 Jun 87 p 2

[In our post today]

[Text] Honourable editorial office,

Having watched in the evening of the day before yesterday the show "TV Panorama" and having read today the article on "How to comprehend these occurrences" in CINA, and also at the conclusion of the sports news in your newspaper, I decided to express some of my thoughts about the mentioned laying of flowers at the Monument of Freedom.

What did these people, "inspired by the "Voice of America", who went there "to mark the memory of those who perished as a result of Sovietization of Latvia" demonstrate? Who actually perished after the renewal of Soviet power in Latvia, during the years of the Great Fatherland War, and in the class struggle of the post-war years?

Starting with the first days of the Great Fatherland War active supporters of Soviet power, Komsomol members, and communists perished; they also fell after the war. Janis Dzintars wrote about that at one time in your newspaper, as did also Janis Riekstins. At the front thousands of Latvian Red Army men fell fighting for Soviet power in Latvia. Those are the victims, so to say, on one side of the class struggle barricade. There were of course victims also on the other side--in the police battalions of Hitlerite underlings, in the Legion, where bandits fell or were punished during the post-war years. Those laying flowers also mentioned, as it were, another group of those who perished--those who had not turned against Soviet power with weapons. I think that perhaps they did not take up rifles because at the moment when it was their turn for weapons they were no longer in Latvia. And in the post-war years political banditism rapidly became exhausted when it no longer had class foundations. You will reproach me for smoothing down history. I think that these are the facts, whatever they are like. But there are also facts of a kind where the events of history in Latvia dragged with them people who subjectively and even objectively had not taken a stand either on one or the other side of the barricade. Were all those who ended up in the fascist concentration camps convinced anti-fascists beforehand? Were all those who left Latvia in 1944 opponents of Soviet power? Likewise,

were all those who were included in the category of opponents of the working people and Soviet power in 1941 and 1949 like that? (FBIS: At the end of March 1949 another wave of mass deportations from the Baltic States took place.) I think that you will agree with me that in a society nothing happens in accordance with simple schemes. In my opinion, precisely this group of people and their kinsmen, received various wrongs which were especially painful.

It must be added here that various "exaggerations" or, let us speak frankly, stupidities were caused precisely by a retreat from the life-norms of socialist democracy and, let us say, also from Marxism-Leninism. We are calling these phenomena the personality cult of Stalin. And, in my opinion, it must not be forgotten that this cult gaps not only "those standing aside" but also those in the ranks of convinced communists.

Yes, after many years it is easier to discuss profusely events of the past, especially when neither oneself nor one's kinsmen have suffered in them. But perhaps it is nevertheless worthwhile, perhaps it is worthwhile to think it over?

I think that the varied activity of radio transmitters is directed towards that audience which, although it endures events of the past and their consequences, is not capable (quite frequently because of ignorance), or does not wish to weigh them up. After all what kind of victims of "Sovietization" do the so-called Letts of the "Voice of America" wish to mention? Surely not those accidental, forgive the cynicism, historically and politically groundless ones? The organization of a corresponding "day of remembrance" and, after all, the attitude of the highest officials of the government of the United States towards our socio-economic system makes one think that at the moment of laying of flowers in accordance with the Washington scenario those had to be mentioned who, for example, in the summer of 1941 hunted for the groups of defenders of Liepaja which had broken out of the Wehrmacht encirclement, those who after the war murdered rural civil parish Party organizers and met their end in these activities as bandits, together with their supporters. It is after all clear that it was not for the fighters for Soviet power for whom the radio voices appealed to lay flowers at the Monument of Freedom.

I feel that those citizens who, although remembering their kinsmen (it is doubtful whether there were many like that), went to the Monument of Freedom precisely on that fixed--it is known from where--day, objectively demonstrated their opposition to the reality of our life, while, in my opinion, participating in it not at all that badly. Surely, among those laying flowers there was also somebody like that who was quite well aware of this and still acted. Perhaps it is useful to remind us also that among the Latvians living in the USA there are those who think similarly to the almost "one hundred per cent American" Ben Wattenberg who was shown on television during the time of the Jurmala meeting, those who hope that the social system here will change and then they will again rule here. An absurdity, you will say, but a fact. A fact which surely is not known by those teenagers who continued what the "flower layers" had started. Perhaps some time it would be useful for one to ask himself the question: what would I do in a society of

"free competition"? The final aim of the radio voices is, after all, restoration of such a system to the entire world. Again, primitively instructional? But is it not a fact?

And I would like to add a few words about honouring victims at the Monument of Freedom. Is it not really a complicated matter to inherit from the previous socio-economic system a monument which has been unveiled during the years of power of an extremely reactionary regime, and one in which at a certain time even revolutionary and progressive aspects were depicted? Moreover, a monument of art, and in addition, a monument such as has not stood for centuries. But one should not, after all, fall from one extreme into another.

With esteem,

J. Kalnenieks.

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CSO: 1808/035



PAPER URGES HISTORIANS TO EXPLAIN 'BLOTS' IN LATVIAN HISTORY

Riga CINA in Latvian 16 Jun 87 p 3

["How to comprehend these occurrences"]

[Text] And thus on Sunday, the 14th of June, at last, the event which the American broadcasting stations "Voice of America" and "Radio Free Europe" had awaited for such a long time and so ardently, took place. For some this was no surprise, because already for several weeks voices of various timbres in the short waves of various diapasons preached about this: "On Sunday in Riga by the Monument of Freedom a remembrance of those who perished as a result of Sovietization of Latvia will be marked".

Thus it also took place. Immediately after the cycling festival which ended in the late afternoon, a group of people who had become inspired by foreign broadcasting stations congregated at the Bastejkalns and went from there to the Monument of Freedom [FBIS: Bastej-hill, a park area, is near the Monument of Liberty]. They sang the "Put, vejini!" ("Blow, the wind!") song which is popular with the Latvian people and laid flowers at the monument. Ribbons attached to bunches of flowers testified that the memory of those who perished and their native country, Latvia, was being honoured. After that, those who had congregated, dispersed. Everything took place politely and peacefully. Only an unnecessary and inappropriate noisiness, bordering on manifestations of hooliganism, arose late in the evening when a small group of teenagers began to run about and to shout by the Monument of Freedom.

How are we to comprehend these occurrences? What did those people who laid flowers, and those who fooled around at the monument during the night, want?

Every person honours and keeps the memory of his kinsmen, members of his family, and beloved and dear persons. This is accepted in every civilized society and nobody means to dispute it. Our people's history entangled with difficult struggles and class contradictions, has many victims. Almost in every family those who perished in the course of the Great Fatherland War--those who fell at the front, those tortured and killed by the Nazis, shot dead by bandits, driven away to foreign countries--are being mourned over and remembered.

Those who perished in WWI and in the struggle for Soviet power during the time of the revolution and at the fronts of the civil war are being remembered.

Those who fell at Tirelpurvs [FBIS: a riflemen's battlefield near Riga] and the murdered Komsomol members of Valmiera are being honoured. It is impossible to enumerate all of them...

The foreign broadcasting stations do not mourn over the fallen workers, over the victims of fascism; they do not appeal to honour the memory of those Latvians. They are deliberately provoking us against Soviet power, against the socialist system, and making use of the still existing "blots" in our history. During the time of restructuring many weapons have already been knocked out of the hands of our ideological opponents, weapons which served them for many years with the indisputable rights of a monopoly only because we kept silence too frequently about some matters. The "14th of June" is one of them [FBIS: the first mass deportations from the Baltic States took place during the night from 13th to 14th of June 1941]. The time has come for historians to give an all-embracing explanation in the spirit of openness and comprehension.

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CSO: 1808/035

**RSFSR DAILY HOSTS ROUNDTABLE ON CONDITION OF REPUBLIC RIVERS**

**Moscow SOVetskaya Rossiya in Russian 10 Jun 87 p 3**

[Roundtable discussion led by V. Kolobov, Yu. Nikolayev and A. Pyatunin, SOVetskaya Rossiya correspondents: "The Health of the River is the Health of the People"; first seven paragraphs are source introduction]

[Text] Cosmonauts say that the earth looks blue from space. Where does it get such a delicate dress? Isn't it the seas and lakes, the rivers and streams which have woven it? Russia alone weaves 2.5 million threads into the fairy-tale dress of the planet. They, our rivers and streams, are called upon by nature itself not only to adorn the earth, but to give life to everything that exists on it. From time immemorial these Nepryadvas and Talkas, these Serebryankas and Biryusinkas were particles of our soul, instilling joy in our existence, feeding us and giving us drink.

From that elevation we may also see something else. Many lines of rivers are fading with the years, becoming thinner, and in some places are even tearing or being tied into knots. What has happened to them? Man has foolishly intervened in the living fabric of nature. He is removing the green reinforcement from their banks, washing soil from the fields into their channels, and firing volleys of polluted drainage at the rivers.

"Let us make our rivers full and clear. Let us save them for our descendants!", demanded the republic's government of its citizens. "If we all take up the cause together," answered the people, "the small rivers will forever adorn our earth... The main thing now is not to lose time, to understand in depth: That which we do not do today will be much more difficult and maybe even altogether impossible to do tomorrow". These passionate words resounded at the meeting of citizens of Voronezh, Lipetsk and Tambov Oblasts.

Their appeal was published in the newspaper SOVetskaya Rossiya 5 years ago. And all these years the newspaper has been performing extensive work aimed at developing this important cause. It has organized five expeditions along the tributaries of the Don, Oka, Sura, Vyatka and Khopra Rivers. Its special teams have studied the condition of small rivers in 19 oblasts and autonomous republics and have familiarized themselves with the experience in improving waterways in the Ukraine. The newspaper's pages raised many problematic questions before the local organs, ministries and departments, and scientific-research institutions.

Letters continue to come in to the editorial office in which readers ask what has changed during this time. What will our rivers be like tomorrow, what can and must the state and the community do to help them?

In order to answer these questions more fully and competently, the newspaper editorial staff recently held a roundtable discussion with a number of officials. Its participants were:

M. Shvetsov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers Presidium Commission on Environmental Protection and Rational Application of Natural Resources; N. Radugin, head of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Land Reclamation Section; Academician B. Laskorin; N. Cherepakhin, deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources and chief state inspector on regulating the use and protection of RSFSR water resources; B. Adesman, chief of the RSFSR Minvudkhoz [Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources] Small Rivers Main Administration V. Denisov, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee; N. Gurova, chief of the Administration on Extracurricular and After-School Educational Work under the RSFSR Ministry of Education; S. Khodyrevskiy, chief of the General Supervision Administration under the RSFSR Procurator's Office; I. Barishpol, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the All-Russian Society for Environmental Protection Central Soviet; Yu. Konstantinov, director of the Moscow station for young tourists; F. Sukhanov, first deputy chairman of the Lipetsk Oblispolkom and chairman of the oblast agroindustrial committee; A. Tyurin, first secretary of the Tambov Komsomol Obkom; L. Naumova, deputy chairman of the Voronezh Oblast Council of VOOP [All-Russian Society for Environmental Protection].

#### Six Years Getting Underway

Who should know the water management situation in the republic best of all? The chief state inspector. Therefore, the first word at the roundtable was given to N. Cherepakhin.

"More than 6 years have passed since the well-known resolution of the RSFSR Council of Ministers on increasing the protection of small rivers. This is a considerable length of time. Each year our ministry increased its budget allocations for small rivers. While in 1982 there were 3.6 million rubles allocated for this purpose, this year the sum is already 23 million. Altogether in the 11th and 12th Five-Year Plans the plans called for expenditures on the order of 10 billion rubles for the protection of water resources, including over 3.5 billion for small rivers. About 2/3 of these funds were intended for the construction of purification structures.

For the present day, we might say, we have already compiled schemes for protecting the water in the basins of 107 small rivers. The cost for the water management operations for these rivers comprises over 3 billion rubles. Of this amount, 350 million have been earmarked for hydrotechnical measures, 420 million for agrotechnical measures, and 50 million rubles for forest engineering measures. Work is already being performed at a number of rivers. Through joint efforts—our own, those of soviet organs and those of the land users and the community—water protection zones have been realized for an extent of 65,000 kilometers. Littoral strips over an area of 98,000 hectares have been sown to grass, and over 60,000 hectares have been afforested. Anti-erosion hydrotechnical structures are being built. River channels have been dredged and their depth increased over an area of 12,000 kilometers.



And yet the process of rebirth of small rivers is proceeding very slowly. There are many reasons for this. We have a shortage of special technology, specifically small earth-digging equipment which could be used to expose wellsprings and deepen riverbeds. The ispolkoms of local Soviets do not act decisively. They are weak in attracting non-contract organizations to this work. This year, for example, of the planned 13.6 million rubles they undertook the assimilation of only 2.6 million. We must admit that we too are still not doing much and that we have no close contact with the local organs. Our on-site services--small river groups and sections--are few, and the control on their part is weak. They essentially only prepare certain materials. Nevertheless, we have investigated the course of fulfillment of the government resolution on small rivers, applying a point system. And here is the result: 41 oblasts, krays and autonomous republics have received the evaluation of 'unsatisfactory'..."

"And how did the Minvodkhoz reconcile itself with the fact that the government resolution remained unfulfilled?", asked Academician B. Laskorin after he had heard what Comrade Cherepakhin had to say. "The small rivers are orphans as before. They wanted to spend tens of billions of rubles for improving the northern rivers, but only 3 for small rivers. These, after all, are paltry investments. We get the impression that the ministry has a totally erroneous conception regarding the management of water resources."

B. Adesman did not agree with the scientist's statement, but he too admitted that in reality, small rivers have for many years truly been the orphan in our common house. And probably more than anything they suffered from extensive management, from voluntarism in planning, and from an irresponsible attitude toward nature.

It would seem that the above-mentioned government resolution puts an end to all this and defines specific ways of getting out of this dead end. However, the comments of the roundtable participants showed that there has been no radical breakthrough. It is true that there has been a noticeable change in recent years in the attitude of numerous industrial enterprises toward rivers. There has been less dumping of unpurified waste water and responsibility for the ecological cleanliness of production has increased.

Nevertheless, we are still far from a complete state of well-being. There are serious pretensions not only against individual enterprises, but also against entire sectors. The USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry has become the talk of the town. Entire volumes have already been written on its poisonous dumping into the water reservoirs. The roundtable participants spoke with alarm about another old illness which has begun to progress--log drifting. The bottoms of many rivers are literally paved with logs.

"According to the decision of the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers, log drifting was to have been eliminated back in 1970 at all the country's fish hatchery reservoirs," announced M. Shvetsov. "However, the ministry found nothing better to do than to seek an extension of this deadline. Up until the present time, log drifting is practiced on 279 of the republic's water reservoirs. Moreover, on 53 of them the deadline for stopping log drifting has been extended to 1990. The directive on the order of coordinating and issuing

a permit for log drifting has already been changed. While before the permit was issued for a period of no more than 3 years, now it is issued for a period of from 3 to 25 years. Is this good management?"

Having conducted 1000 investigations on 600 rivers last year, the minor rivers management service determined that 80 percent of the pollutant facilities belong to Gosagroprom [State Agroindustrial Complex]. A particular hazard is posed by the 210 large livestock raising complexes with hydraulic system of manure disposal. The essence of this system, as we know, is that a scoop of solid waste is dissolved in a bucket of water. The liquid manure which is formed is difficult to store, and even more difficult to transport to the field. According to the data of the Urals Scientific-Research Institute on Water Management, up to 900 million tons of this so-called "non-litter" manure is formed on the country's farms and complexes annually! Contrary to the conclusions of agrochemical science, planners believe that this sewage can be purified by biological means, and this is why they make provision for it also in the new complexes.

Or let us take biopurification at the large hog raising enterprises. It costs the state millions of rubles. Yet the 15-year experience in the operation of such structures has shown that they do very little good. We, the participants of the newspaper's expeditions to the river basins, were often impressed by something else. Livestock raising complexes are located, as a rule, near rivers, and in some places the check plots and sediment tanks are literally hanging off the banks. A heavy rain is enough to send the avalanche of collected poison rushing into the river, not to mention the spring floods.

The roundtable participants spoke with great alarm about the pollution of the river waters with soluble mineral fertilizers, toxic chemicals and pesticides. These are washed off the fields along with the draining rain water. In many farms, fertilizers and soil preparations are stored carelessly, used in an ignorant manner, and have no disposal sites. As a result, a huge amount of nitrate fertilizers gets into the small rivers. Studies conducted by specialists have shown that there is an on-going and deep pollution of the river waters with biogenic elements--nitrates, potassium salts, and phosphorus. Unfortunately, our agricultural academy--VASKHNIL [All-Union Order of Lenin Academy of Agricultural Sciences imeni V. I. Lenin]--is not seriously concerned with this problem.

A truly strict account is presented to agrarian scientists. However, much depends also on the specialists and farm managers. Yet on their part too we can detect a consumerist, heartless attitude toward small rivers. What tricks will the farm managers not resort to merely to leave a summer cattle grazing ground on the banks, to retain a patch of pasture land in a watershed zone, or to keep a fuel storage warehouse. What battles must forestry workers endure to plant the forest strips provided by land management on the kolkhoz and sovkhoz arable lands. "They will knock off our production plan," insist certain good-for-nothing directors stubbornly, "and then--there you are." Yet they know that floodplains sown to grass, a forest strip restraining a ravine, and tillage across an incline would tomorrow work toward that very same plan. Moreover, they would improve the well-being of the river, the field, and the plain. How other than by the psychology of a favorite can we explain such a position? Where is the boundary line here between thoughtlessness and sabotage? And

isn't it in such behavior that we should seek the reason why the important government resolution is being poorly implemented, why the 6 years which have passed were essentially spent just "getting off the ground".

### The Living Springs Begin to Talk

They went for getting off the ground--for offices and buros. But they have not been lost for the human soul. The appeal by the above-mentioned meeting of citizens found fervent response in the hearts of thousands of nature enthusiasts. Similar meetings were held in the villages of Volgograd, Rostov, Yaroslav and Novosibirsk Oblasts. People in Chuvashiya and Bashkiriya, in Tatariya and Kabardino-Balkariya all rose up in defense of the well-being of small rivers.

The roundtable participants expressed the unanimous opinion that the primary force in the mass movement of society entitled "To small rivers--big life" are the Komsomol and the school-age youth.

"In every rayon Komsomol organization in our oblast," said A. Tyurin, there is a specific sector of work on small rivers. It has become a good tradition to spend a month's work campaign here every spring and fall improving the rivers. This spring, for example, our fellows planted around 200 hectares of forest strips along river banks and ravines and put in order just under 100 springs.

The awakened initiative of the youth has given rise to many unexpected forms of participation in the great cause. In the Chuvash ASSR, a 2-year Komsomol program has been completed on combatting water erosion, over 15 million trees and shrubs have been planted, and over 9,000 brushwood and woven retaining dams have been built on ravines. The Novosibirsk Komsomol obkom has adopted an integrated program on environmental protection to the end of the five-year plan. The Komsomol here has assumed leadership over all the small rivers in the oblast. The Volgograd youth is conducting the "Living springs" expedition for the third year.

The people's concern for small rivers has shown tangible results. The roundtable meeting presented the following figures. In the last 5 years, Russian nature lovers have worked 32.4 million man-days on improving small rivers. They have planted 25,900 hectares of trees, cleared 9,300 kilometers of riverbank strips, and improved 36,200 springs.

Although the figures are impressive, we should not be flattered by them. As yet, they have changed little in the Russian river landscape. How much still remains to be done! And especially for the young people, who are called upon to become the true masters of the land.

"The 20th Komsomol Congress," said V. Denisov at the meeting, "committed the Komsomol organizations to take a turn in formulating a current ecological consciousness in young men and women. Such a turn is impossible without specific tasks. We consider one of them to be agricultural-forest reclamation, which we are proclaiming to be the All-Union Komsomol shock building project. We have reached an agreement with the country's Gosagroprom and Gosleskhoz [State Committee for the Forestry Industry] to develop a joint program of action. Next year we intend to involve young sociologists and scientists more deeply in



studying the possibilities of developing a youth environmental protection movement. It is notable that these plans have been dictated not from above, but have been prompted from below, by the Komsomol members themselves. On the eve of the Congress we received hundreds of letters, including those submitting proposals for the protection of small rivers. Estonian nature lovers, for example, think that it is time to create a public fund for environmental protection. This fund would be formulated from fines levied against those who maliciously destroy the natural environment.

Having attentively listened to the secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee, I. Barishpol noted: "About 5-6 years ago our ties with the Komsomol Central Committee were stronger. The central council of the All-Russian Society for Environmental Protection and the Komsomol Central Committee conducted joint regional conferences and seminars of various ecological problems. It would be good to restore this fine practice and to strengthen contacts. After all, our example is followed also at the local sites."

That is a good thought!

The Public Committees on Problems of Large River Basins may become excellent partners of the Komsomol committees and councils of the Society for Environmental Protection. It is true, recently they have lost their aggressiveness and ability to bring a task which has been started to its conclusion. We can recall the joint meeting of the Committee on the Don River and the Council on Environmental Protection under the Komsomol Central Committee held in 1983. This meeting adopted an integrated regional program for continued development of the work of the Komsomol committees and the councils of the Society for Environmental Protection on ecological training and increasing the contribution of the youth to the protection, rational application and reproduction of natural resources to the year 1990. Other regions also need such programs, if they are not merely to remain on paper. The active participation of the youth in their implementation can turn out to be the pivotal point of ecological training of the upcoming generation.

And the work which remains to be done here is considerable. Today, as the roundtable pointed out, only 35 percent of the students are engaged in active environmental protection activity. The school and VUZ programs are timid in calling them to this cause. They give unjustifiably little attention to questions of environmental protection. The material base for reinforcing ecological knowledge and skills is also weak. Up until the present time, one out of every four schools still does not have an educational-practical experience sector, and one out of every five vocational-technical schools does not have a training farm. The actions of some of the "blue" and "green" patrols are closer to children's games than to a serious cause.

"The union republic's Ministry of Education is currently preparing new textbooks on environmental science, geography and physics," reported N. Gurova. "We will pass on our proposals and comments to it. As yet we cannot say how much consideration they will receive. As concerns the specific actions of the school children, however, they, as we have already said here, do and will continue to exist. The children's rest and recreation time at camp is beginning. We recommend that the children be involved in caring for the planted areas, in clearing river banks, and in improving wellsprings."



Yu. Konstantinov continued the discussion on the flaws in ecological training. He told of the impressions which young tourists sometimes have upon returning from their trips.

"What is the good of all our efforts," he blurted out in pain, "if the fellows see how everything they planted yesterday is today torn up by the wheels of tractors and trampled by cattle?"

"According to my deep conviction," agreed L. Naumova, "we must decisively increase the responsibility of farm managers for ecological carelessness. It is time to include environmental protection measures into the plans and responsibilities of the labor collectives, and to stringently demand their fulfillment."

The roundtable participants spoke with great concern about the atmosphere of permissiveness and mutual guarantee which has arisen in the national economy regarding cases of violation of nature. The economic managers are convinced that in the name of the plan everything is permitted, everything will be forgiven. They will not dare to stop production after any kind of blow to the river. And in reality, it was further noted, as soon as things get hot, the control agencies are faced with an impenetrable wall. Mighty patrons can be found, up to a minister and higher, who rush to the defense not of the river, but of its destroyers.

The question invariably arises: Where are the observers of the law looking? What is their position? It, we must say directly, has no force. Don't the following figures presented at the roundtable bear this out? Last year, the agencies of the State Inspection on Protection of Waterways handed over materials dealing with 704 cases of malicious violations of waterway legislation to the local prosecutors. And what was the result? Only 293 of them were accepted, and even these were strained through a sieve before the courts. The participants of the newspaper's expeditions wanted to tell about at least one very informative court case. But they never did get proper attention. Yet they repeatedly came upon cases of gross violations of the law.

"Right now we are engaged in one serious case," said S. Khodyrevskiy, entering the conversation. "I am speaking of the pollution of the Rybinskiy water reservoir by the Cherepovetskiy Metallurgical Combine. I think we'll teach certain people to love nature. As the investigation develops, the losses are discovered to be ever greater. Evidently, they will comprise no less than 30 million rubles. But this is what I would like to note: the growth of losses in the course of the investigation is not a characteristic case. More often it is the opposite. The initial loss is determined in the sum of a million rubles, while suit is filed for only 30,000. The fact is that the very methodology of computing the loss incurred to nature is extremely incomplete. We believe that social justice should also triumph here. The enterprise caused a loss in the amount of a million rubles to nature, and it should return a million to it. And this compensation should be paid from its fund for social-cultural development."

The roundtable participants stressed that the existing legislation on the protection of water resources needs to be improved. It does not fully correspond to the new reference points in the national economy or to the present-day understanding of the role of nature in the life of the people. It removes man from

strict personal responsibility for a thoughtless, consumerist attitude toward nature.

### Shoals in the Shallows

The roundtable discussion constantly brought up the idea: Who is the master of the river? Let us recall where the people went to steer harm away from it. They went to the Soviet. It sounded the alarm and led the people to action. This is because the Soviet is the main master of its holdings. It takes the bows, and it must meet the demands. And among the dozen guilty parties responsible for the ills of the river, it stands first. It turned away from the river yesterday, came to its senses today, and is called upon to pay the debts tomorrow. But the facts show that it is in no hurry to do so.

In the Mari, North Osetian and Checheno-Ingush Autonomous Republics and in Altay and Krasnoyarsk Krays, water resource protection measures, as Comrade Cherepakhin indicated, were not even discussed either this year or last. In the Russian Federation the plan has been undermined for removing polluting facilities from watershed zones: instead of 4,300, only 1,500 have been removed. Yet the local Soviets are not in the least bit concerned about this. They report that 107 schemes for waterway protection have been compiled for river basins. Yet as it turns out, the Soviets have ratified only 4 of them.

We can't help but ask the question: why haven't the schemes been ratified up until now? Why, it is because [after they are ratified] something will have to be done, and the blame will have to be accepted for disorder on the river.

It is not an easy task to force the Soviets to face the rivers. Their current position has been formulated in an atmosphere of irresponsibility and mutual permissiveness and was reinforced, as it is now becoming ever more clear, by a radically erroneous attitude toward small rivers on the part of the country's Minvodkhoz. Here it is time to return to the remark of Academician B. Laskorin, which he developed later in his presentation.

"The Minvodkhoz has not given enough attention to the problem of small rivers as the key position in water management. It believed that this is an unimportant question, and not one which it must deal with. The Ministry institutes maintained that after an enterprise had used the water, it could be dumped into any reservoir. The next enterprise can again take this same water. Thus, the balance of water is supposedly improved. This is a deeply erroneous position."

The Ministry must restructure its conception also in another aspect of the problem. It had a directive to supply water to the consumer, and in the amount which he requests. Recently the USSR Council of Ministers commission in which I participated concluded its work. It disclosed a disheartening picture. In land reclamation there are cases of colossal overwatering, ancient and archaic technology, huge losses of water in the transport canals, etc. As a result of the lack of development of water consumption technologies in industry, municipal management and agriculture, a doctrine of water shortage has been created. And essentially it is based on the doctrine of waste.

It is an undisputable fact that the country needs a state program on small rivers.

This conclusion emerged from the presentations of all the roundtable participants. Today, when the rechanneling of the northern rivers is considered to be inexpedient, we must pour new life into the already existing water sources. One of the most important of these sources are small rivers. Of the 2.5 million such small rivers flowing through the territory of the Russian Federation, only 127,000 are used more or less intensively in the national economy. Yet even their water resources comprise 40 percent of the overall balance of river drainage in Russia. And what if we return their former force to them and fill the banks of the other rivers and streams?

The letters from readers which literally flood the editorial office after every major statement by the newspaper on problems of small rivers have the following thought as a leading theme: there were mills, and there were rivers. We are referring not to those structures from which bags of flour are carried out, but rather to dams which held back the water. These supports were the head of everything. The overflow of the mills maintained the normal level of river and ground waters, watered the meadows, forests and fields, and gave strength to the wellsprings. When they were drained during the flooding time, they washed out the river channels. The cascades of the mill dams regulated the river from its headwaters to its mouth.

The discussion is not about writing the old mills into the program of re-surrecting small rivers, even though the current-day peasant would much rather fill his bag with fresh-smelling flour from under their millstones than wait a week for bread baked in the rayon center. Their dams are viewed as the prototype of structures of a new type, which play a dual role: the regulator of the water regimen in the river and its basin and also, no less important today, the source of ecologically pure electrical power. Moreover, these future structures also have their prototype--small GES [hydroelectrical stations].

One other scientist had been invited to the roundtable discussion--F. Shipunov, head of the USSR Academy of Sciences Laboratory of Biosphere Studies. Unfortunately he was unable to attend the meeting, and came to the editorial office a little later.

"Today everyone in the world is interested in nontraditional sources of power which would not pollute the environment and which would be inexpensive," he said. "Among such sources, undoubtedly, are small rivers. And you are right about the prototype. We already have positive experience in this matter. Russia began working on this matter almost 60 years ago. We know that in 1952 the capacity of the small GES comprised 300,000 kilowatts. By 1959 it had increased to 480,000. In 1982 there were 6,600 small hydroelectrical stations in the country, but only 180 of the largest ones were operational. Their total capacity equalled 420,000 kilowatts. Yes, it was since the end of the 50's that the unjustified persecution of small-scale energetics began. The course was taken toward the construction of gigantic GES on major rivers."

We all know now where this has led. Let us take the Volga. Having regulated it at its primary transit flow, we have destroyed the entire ecological system of this great river. Under the Rybinskiy Reservoir alone we flooded 430,000 hectares of land. It was created for obtaining 1.5 billion kilowatt-hours of power per year. Why, this could have been obtained simply from burning the annual growth of wood and grass from the forests and meadows which had been flooded over.



The restructuring of energetics must occupy a key position in the restructuring of the country's national economy. Energetics much change over to a more well developed path--both in a technical, in an economic, and in an ecological sense. Without this, the restructuring of either water management or agriculture would be impossible. It has been computed that the microGES and the small GES placed at springs, streams, small and medium-sized rivers in the European part of the Soviet Union alone will be able to yield 320 billion kilowatt-hours of power per year. This is almost as much as all the GES produce.

"If we approach the matter in a state-like manner," noted N. Radugin, "we must develop as soon as possible several types of industrial designs for dams, as well as technologies for clearing small rivers. We must also determine who is to perform large-scale work on the rivers. There is a thought of next year creating a specialized organization for clearing the rivers of the Northern Caucasus."

"We need such special subdivisions in every oblast," added F. Sukhanov. "But what do we get? We needed to clear a section of the Usmanka River. We involved the Hydromechanization Administration of the USSR Mintyazhstroy [Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises] into this matter with great difficulty. It tried to get out of it--we must have limits, but no one plans them. Now there is a need to clear the Plavitsa--again we switch on the hydromechanization. But here the Minavtodor [Ministry of Highways] is already investing money, under the guise that it needs sand..."

The meeting participants stressed that by intensifying the ecological training of the population, increasing the sense of responsibility of any and all for the condition of their country's nature, and increasing the level of exactingness for any loss inflicted upon it, at the current stage it is very important to create such an economic management mechanism and such economic levers which would themselves serve to guard nature, to exclude any efforts at negligence toward it, and would hold it in high esteem as the mother of all living things.

From the Editors

In the course of this discussion, the viewpoints on various aspects of the problem did not always concur. However, all the roundtable participants unanimously agreed on the conclusions summarizing the meeting.

It is quite apparent that today we must introduce complete clarity into the future fate of every small river. We need serious scientific studies of the river basins and their potential capacities. It is important to attract scientists, specialists in the national economy, and the overall community to this vitally important work.

These studies could subsequently serve as the basis for a state program on small rivers. But without waiting for the development [of this program], we must intensify work on the protection of small rivers, springs, and other water reservoirs in every way possible. That which is currently being done in this direction is but a drop in the sea. The resolutions adopted by the government allow us to develop environmental protection work on a much larger scale. The need for placing more stringent demands on specific executors of environmental- and water resource-protection measures is also evident. As the discussion



showed, the need for increasing specialized capacities for improving small rivers is particularly great.

Obviously, we cannot count on the state water resource protection organizations alone. The role of the community, and primarily of the Komsomol, the school, all the young people and juveniles, and the environmental protection societies is particularly great in the movement entitled "To Small Rivers—Big Life." Already this summer, student building detachments, pioneer and labor camps, and a large number of student summer vacationers could take part in the certification of small rivers and in their improvement.

Undoubtedly, much here will depend on the local Soviets. It is they who are primarily called upon to coordinate actions and lead the pilgrimage for the health of our rivers, and for our own health.

In conclusion, we would like to invite SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA readers to continue the discussion. Each one of your opinions is important in such a great endeavor. We await from you, comrade readers, specific proposals for conducting our journalistic investigations and expeditions.

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## FLOODING DAMAGES SETTLEMENTS, FIELDS IN UZBEKISTAN

## Tashkent Oblast

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 19 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 200-word UzTAG item entitled "The Angren River Overflows" which reports that on the evening of 17 April the Angren River (error for Akhangaron River) became swollen from heavy rains and overflowed in the area of Burjar Settlement on the territory of Gulistan Kokhoz of Piskent Rayon of Tashkent Oblast. The fields of Kolkhoz imeni Vakhrushev also flooded. Rayon and oblast party, Soviet and farm organs rushed to their aid and evacuated nearly 2,000 people. Measures were taken to contain the water from the Akhangaron Reservoir and Tashkent Sea. Some buildings were destroyed and several people perished.

Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 25 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 400-word article by own correspondent A. Mannopov entitled "A Force That Overcame a Disaster" in which he reports that on 16 and 21 April the Akhangaron River overflowed and caused considerable damage to Gulistan Kolkhoz in Piskent Rayon. The Borijar Settlement remained under water on 23 April, and in Galaba Rayon flooding caused R14 million worth of damage.

Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 21 April 1987 carries on page 1 a 500-word article by UzTAG correspondent T. Doghzhil entitled "Combatting a Natural Disaster" in which he reports that the Akhangaron River overflowed and wreaked considerable damage in Piskent, Akhangaron, and Buks Rayons of Tashkent Oblast. Current estimates place the damage to the economy at R13.6 million. The water destroyed the railroad bridge of the Almalyk Chemical Plant and flooded various plant shops, as well as a portion of the transportation roads of the Almalyk Mining and Metallurgy Combine. Strong currents flowed through the central streets of Gulistan Kolkhoz and flooded a number of populated areas on the Kolkhozes imeni Gorkiy and Telman. Floods destroyed 50 homes, collapsed 260 homes, and damaged 200 others, a school, kindergarten, hospital, trade and dining enterprises. Water flooded 800 hectares of crops, stables, warehouses, irrigation units, and the Piskent Cotton Plant filial, and destroyed 17 kilometers of road, five bridges, and electric and communication lines. Workers rushed to shore up levees, but on 21 April the Akhangaron rose and overflowed again at Eyvalek. Doghzhil states that people living in Tashkent, Chirchik, and other cities have been telephoning the UzTAG offices to inquire about the condition of the Charvak Reservoir. According to informed sources the situation there is normal and the dam is not in danger.

Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 24 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 1,500-word article by UzTAG correspondent T. Doghzhi entitled "Precious Minutes" in which he describes relief efforts for the flooding that occurred when the Akhangaron River overflowed on 17 April and again on 21 April. The Tashkent Sea was full and threatened inhabitants of Akkurgan, Srenechirchik, and Chinaz Rayons. All points along the Syrdarya River in Tashkent Oblast were placed on alert, but the waters receded, and the danger of flooding subsided.

#### Andizhan Oblast

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 25 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 400-word item from UzTAG entitled "Courage Was Shown For Five Hours" which reports that on 23 April, due to strong rains and melting mountain snow, the Tentaksoy River overflowed and caused considerable damage in Izbaskan Rayon of Andizhan Oblast. Workers succeeded in sealing the levee breaks after five hours of work, but the high waters continued to pose a threat. There were no casualties, but flooding caused nearly R300,000 worth of damage.

#### Namangan Oblast

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 30 April 1987 carries on page 4 a 200-word item by UzTAG correspondent R. Bichurin entitled "The Flood Did Not Win Out" in which he reports that the Narin River in Namangan Oblast overflowed in several places, flooded the fields on Oktyabr Kolkhoz, and endangered over 16,000 people. Workers built a levee on its left bank to prevent a repetition of the floods. Fortunately, the flood did not cause much damage and there were no casualties.

#### TASHKENT SEISMIC STATION RECORDS AFGHANISTAN EARTHQUAKE

[Editorial Report] Tashkent SOVET OZBEKISTONI in Uzbek on 3 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 100-word item from UzTAG entitled "The Earth Quaked" which reports that at 19:20 on 1 April the Tashkent Seismic Station registered an earthquake of nearly 2 points in strength. The epicenter was 510 km south of Tashkent in the area of Fayzabad City in Afghanistan. Because the quake occurred at a great depth (220 km) it was felt with a force of 2-3 points on a wide territory in Central Asia.

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# OBKOM DISCUSSES ASHKHABAD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 12 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 900-word article by G. Gurbanov headlined "We Must Structure Our Work: From the Sixth Plenum of the Turkmen CP Ashkhabad Obkom." "As last year's figures reveal, positive forward movement in the economy still lacks the needed stability. Measures taken were inadequate for the scope and urgency of the problems, and the reconstruction of work has only just begun." The report adds that because "most economic organs and party committees" are still working "in the old style," this factor "obstructs the broad development of the peoples' work, political and social activism." The report also notes that "Ashkhabad city is the only city in the republic unable to fulfill the plan for completing residential housing."

# TURKMEN LABOR PRODUCTIVITY STILL FALLS SHORT OF PLAN

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 19 April 1987 carries on page 2 a 1900-word article by N. Alovov, chairman of the Turkmen State Labor Committee, headlined "We Must Perfect Work Organizations." Pointing out that many republic factories are failing to bring labor productivity up to the necessary level, he notes that "this bears witness to the fact that existing possibilities for increasing labor productivity are not being exploited. At the same time, plans for the introduction of scientific and technical achievements are also not being fulfilled." The Turkmen Gosagroprom, for example, has failed to meet plans for "installing progressive technology, and mechanizing and automating production processes."

# IMPROVEMENTS NOTED IN TURKMEN CONSUMER GOODS PRODUCTION

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 26 April 1987 carries on page 3 an 800-word report from the Turkmen Peoples' Control Committee noting some improvements in the production of consumer goods; the report is headlined "May There Be Many Consumer Goods of High Quality." It points out that plants of the Ministry of Light Industry "have taken many steps to increase production, improve quality and broaden the assortment of consumer goods. For example, factories subordinate to the ministry were supposed to have produced 446.6 million rubles of consumer goods in 1985-1986; they actually produced 464.8 million rubles." It is added that "the quality of products also improved somewhat." Supplying the people with a broad selection of goods continues to be a problem.



#### AMU DARYA SHIPPING HIGHLIGHTED

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turksmen on 24 April 1987 carries on page 3 a 200-word Turkmeninform report headlined "Ships Traveling on the Amu Darya" announcing that the freighter Prud just completed its maiden voyage from the Chardzhou shipping yards to Khayraton in Afghanistan via the Amu Darya; it carried primarily industrial goods, food and construction materials. Noting the steady growth of Central Asian shipping, the report adds that "in the last 5 years alone 20 new ships have replaced antiquated ships and barges." Among the newer ships are the Stepan Mangushev, Berdi Kerbabayev, Oleg Koshevoy, and Vladimir Ulyanov. It is also pointed out that "more than half the cargo for new construction in Karakalpakistan, East Turkmenistan, West Turkmenistan, and North Afghanistan travels over the Amu Darya."

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**TUSSR: USE OF INDUSTRIAL SUPPLEMENTARY FARMLANDS NEGLECTED**

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 19 May 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial on industry's neglect of lands allocated to it for agricultural purposes; the editorial is headlined "Let's Strengthen Attention to Private Plots." It points out that "as a whole, work on private plots in our republic is very poor. For example, no one is looking after the pigs on the private plot of the Mary bread plant. They are not being supplied with enough feed. As for the 30 hectares subordinate to the technical branch of the USSR Ministry of Communications in Bayramaly, nothing has been planted there. An unprofitable private plot, instead of yielding an income, can be extremely expensive. These expenses are only the result of the carelessness of the management of industrial and transport plants, and construction organization."

**THEFTS IN TURKMEN MEAT, DAIRY, FOOD INDUSTRIES ASSAILED**

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 7 May 1987 carries on page 1 a 1000-word lead editorial headlined "The Collective and the Leader" emphasizing the importance of maintaining high moral principles in all branches of the economy. It claims that "there are those among us who try to take much from the state and give little to the common treasury. As they say among the people, those who are 'greedy' and 'taking a cut' are doing much harm to our work." The rhetorical question is posed: "If someone is stealing from the public, is that not stealing from each of us?" The editorial adds that "one comes across such situations in collectives at plants of the republic's meat, dairy and food industry."

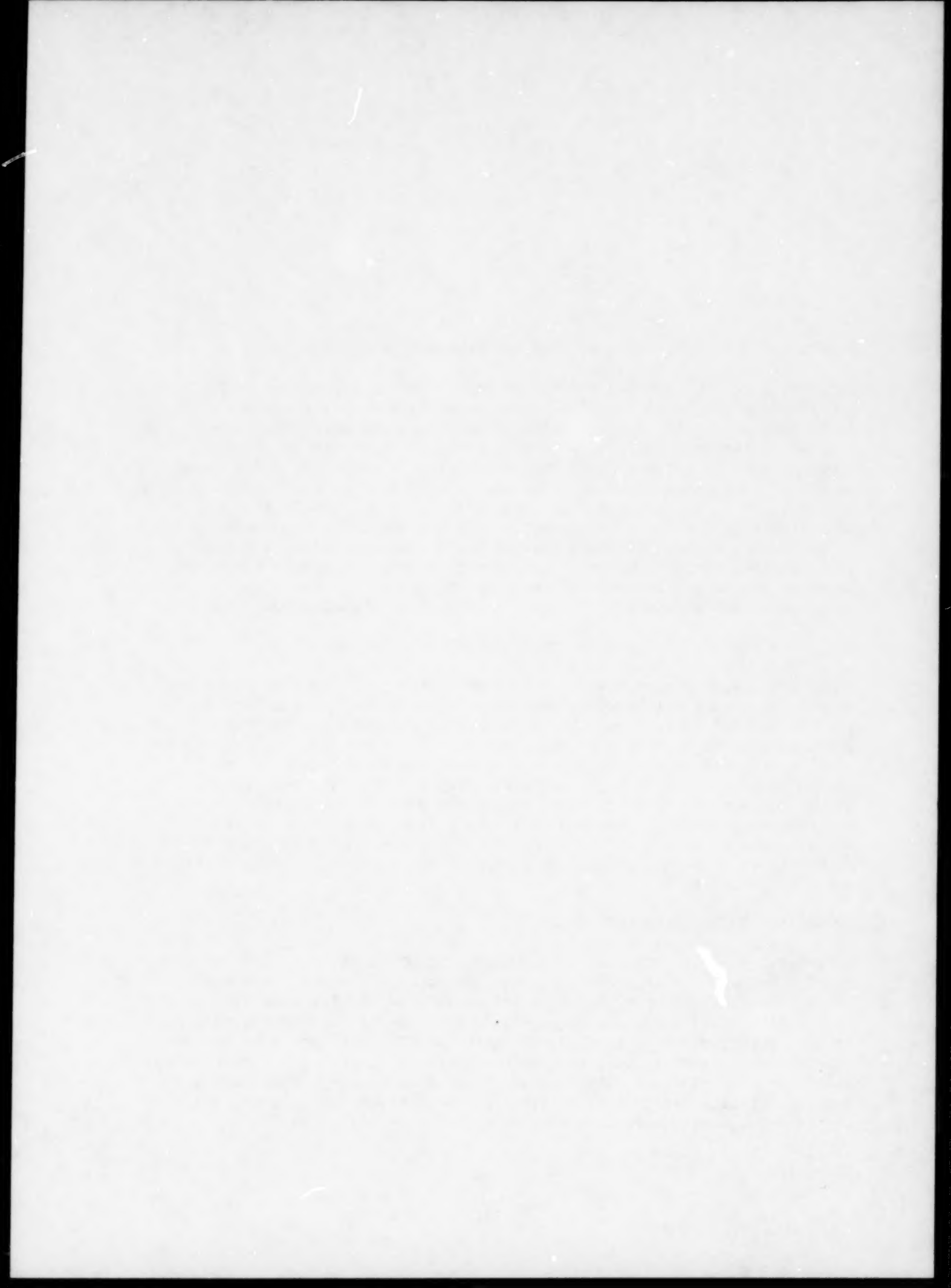
**NEW BRANCH ADDED TO KARAKUM CANAL**

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 21 May 1987 carries on page 3 a 100-word Turkmeninform report headlined "New Branch of the Canal." It notes that a 20-kilometer pipeline has been completed between the canal and Glavgaragumstroy's experimental demonstration farm. It will supply water to some 10,000 hectares. "In the spring of this year vineyards were established; the groundwork is being laid for vegetable farming and fruit orchards, and construction of animal husbandry operations has begun." It is added that as a result of the Karakum Canal "more than 30 new agricultural mini-cities have been established in the republic."

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